THE OXFORD MOVEMENT AND CHURCH UNITY: A STUDY OF ANGLO-CATHOLIC ECUMENICAL THEOLOGY ON THE EVE OF THE ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT

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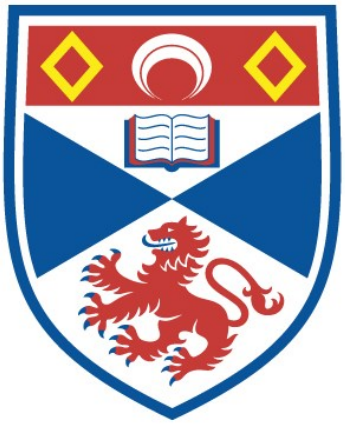
A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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a study of Anglo-Catholic ecumenical theology on the eve of the Ecumenical Movement

being a Thesis presented by

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to the University of St. Andrews

in application for the degree of Ph.D.

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the following Thesis is based on the results of research carried out by me, that the Thesis is my own composition, and that it has not previously been presented for a Higher Degree.

The Research was carried out in St. Andrews University (eight terms) and St. Deiniol's Library, Hawarden (one term).

CERTIFICATE

We certify that Frederick S. Downs has spent nine terms at Research Work in historical theology, that he has fulfilled the conditions of Ordinance No. 16 (St. Andrews), and that he is qualified to submit the accompanying Thesis in application for the degree of Ph.D.

CAREER

I matriculated in the College of Wooster (Ohio) in September, 1950, and followed a course leading to graduation as Bachelor of Arts in June, 1954.

I matriculated in Colgate Rochester Divinity School in September, 1954, and followed a course leading to graduation as Bachelor of Divinity in May, 1957.

In October, 1957, I commenced the research on "The Oxford Movement and its Implications in the Ecumenical Church" which is now being submitted as a Ph.D. Thesis.

Preface

The modern Ecumenical Movement in Britain is usually regarded as the product of the Evangelical missionary and student movements of the nineteenth century. This generalization not only ignores the parallel ecumenical developments within what is known as Anglo-Catholicism, but overlooks the influence of that group upon the Ecumenical Movement itself in the early twentieth century. Through a study of the theological aspect of Anglo-Catholic ecumenism in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this Thesis attempts to evaluate and come to an understanding of this development.

The Anglo-Catholic ecumenical theology was only gradually developed by individuals and groups of individuals when they were confronted with particular problems involving relationships with other churches. It is therefore necessary to approach the subject in historical terms. In this Thesis I have limited my study to the period between 1833 and 1920. In other words, it is a study of the period in which Anglo-Catholicism formulated its conceptions of unity and reunion, not a study of the influence of those ideas upon the Ecumenical Movement itself. I have divided the period of study into three parts: the Tractarian period, 1833-1845; the sub-Tractarian period, 1845-1900; and the early twentieth century period, 1900-1920. The first period is that of the Oxford Movement, and its dates are

generally accepted. The terminus a quo is Keble's sermon on "National Apostasy," preached on July 14, 1833, and the terminus ad quem is Newman's secession to the Roman Church on October 9, 1845. During these years the essential principles of Anglo-Catholic thought were formulated. The terminus ad quem of the second period is more arbitrary. In this period the first real efforts to formulate an ecumenical theology were made, but it was not a theologically creative period. This was due in part to the bitter controversy between the Ritualists and the Protestants within the Church of England. Up through the 1890's this situation prevailed. Only in the twentieth century, when the Anglo-Catholics were finally accepted as a legitimate part of the English Church, could a really constructive development of ecumenical principles take place. While the Anglo-Catholic theological revival should be dated from the publication of Lux Mundi in 1889, its real influence was not felt till the turn of the century. In this Thesis I have perhaps laid more stress upon the emergence of Liberal Catholicism than many Anglo-Catholics would consider justifiable. I have done so because only the Liberal Catholics made a positive theological contribution to the Ecumenical Movement. I have stopped short of that development within Liberal Catholicism itself which is associated with the publication of Essays Catholic and Critical. The upper limit of my study, 1920, is also arbitrary. I have chosen it because

the Lambeth Conference of that year was a turning point in Anglican ecumenical history. At that time Anglicanism committed itself without reservation to the cause of Christian reunion, and it was a commitment in which at least a significant portion of the Anglo-Catholic group was involved. Around this same time the Ecumenical Movement itself was born. The desire for a greater Christian unity which had been awakened at Edinburgh 1910 was being expressed in plans for three associations. The first of these, the International Missionary Council, was formed in 1921. The second, the Universal Christian Council for Life and Work, first met at Stockholm in 1925. And the third, the World Conference on Faith and Order, met at Lausanne in 1927.

Since the vocabulary of this subject is not fixed, I have adopted the following usages where the terms of reference are not clear:

Ecumenical Movement - that organized expression of concern for Christian disunity that had its origins in the second decade of the twentieth century and has evolved into the World Council of Churches. It is sometimes used with reference to that movement's immediate antecedents as well.

ecumenical or ecumenics - that which involves the relationships between different Christian communions.

reunion - the reestablishment of Church unity through

the acceptance of certain common forms, one of which is some type of authoritative or semi-authoritative structural relationship.

federation - "a federation of Churches is a co-operative organization for limited and particular objects, in which each constituent Church retains its full independence and liberty of action."[1]

ecclesiology - the doctrine of the Church, except when otherwise indicated.[2]

Catholic Church or Catholic churches - the Roman, Orthodox, and Anglican communions. This is the Anglo-Catholic usage. In the later part of our period the Old Catholics would also be included by some.

Catholic - when used of individuals it refers to members of Catholic churches, except when the individual is an Anglican. Within that communion the name is given only to those who adopt religious views recognized by Anglo-Catholics as consistent with the traditions of the other Catholic churches and the Primitive Church. In this sense it is usually distinguished from Protestant. However incorrect this usage may be, its widespread acceptance makes it unavoidable. The term is also used with reference to the religious system generally associated with the Roman

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1. "Glossary," R. Rouse, and S. C. Neill (eds.), A History of the Ecumenical Movement, 1517-1948 (London: 1954), p.791.
2. For a discussion of the development of this word, see Ibid., p.790.

and Orthodox churches.

Catholic - universal.

Some technical matters should be mentioned at this time. Since the writer is an American, he has not attempted to adopt either the British idiom or British spelling. The standard of spelling used is The American College Dictionary (New York: 1949). Whenever square brackets [ ] are used within a quotation, the material between them is my own. When used with a number, a footnote is indicated. The bibliography includes only those works which I have consulted in the preparation of this Thesis.

I owe a debt of gratitude for help in preparing this Thesis to the following persons: Prof. J. H. Baxter of St. Mary's College for the suggestions which led to the formulation of this Thesis and for counsel during its preparation; Prof. N. H. G. Robinson of St. Mary's College for counsel and valuable technical advice; the staffs of the St. Andrews University Library, St. Deiniol's Library, Hawarden, and the Lambeth Palace Library; and my wife, Mary, for helping with the proofreading. I am also indebted to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury for permission to consult the Lambeth Conference papers. In portions of this Thesis I have drawn heavily upon the work of two men, H. R. T. Brandreth, O.G.S., and Dr. Yngve

Brilioth, late Archbishop of Upsala. The historical portion of the Introduction draws heavily upon Brandreth's The Oecumenical Ideals of the Oxford Movement, and I received the ideas that led to the writing of the second chapter from Brilioth's The Anglican Revival. These authors are, of course, in no way responsible for the use I have made of this material.

Chapter I: Introduction

Any group's attitude towards the reunion of Christendom is strongly influenced by a combination of circumstantial and theological factors. While the following chapters will be primarily devoted to a study of the particular philosophical and theological presuppositions which provided a strong systematic basis for Anglo-Catholic [1] participation in the Ecumenical Movement, its position in that Movement was also influenced by historical and motivational factors unrelated to systematic theology as such. Though the following historical study does not attempt a complete coverage, it does outline the main events and motives that influenced the developing Anglo-Catholic ecumenical theology.[2]

I

The Tractarian Period: 1833-1845. The Tractarian Movement, which was destined to bring about great reforms within the Anglican Church, was in itself a reaction to the

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1. See Appendix A for a discussion of the term "Anglo-Catholic."
2. Though no full history of Anglo-Catholic ecumenical activity has been written, H. R. T. Brandreth has produced an excellent comprehensive introduction to the subject in his The Oecumenical Ideals of the Oxford Movement (London: 1947). A shorter but valuable account by the same author can be found in his chapter, "Approaches of the Churches towards Each Other in the Nineteenth Century," (Ch.VI) in R. Rouse and S. C. Neill (eds.), A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1948 (London: 1954), pp.276-284. The former volume is a revision of a series of articles written for the Reunion magazine in the early 1940's.

reform spirit of the 1820's and 1830's. The Parliamentary reforms of that era virtually cut the foundations out from under established religion as it had existed in Britain for nearly two centuries. The repeal of the Test and Corporation Act and the Catholic Emancipation Act destroyed the old Commonwealth-Church idea, thus leaving the Anglicans with no real apology for their position in relation to other religious groups in England. Those Anglicans who were aware of the implications of a government no longer "Church of England" set out to find a new authority for their position - lest their church simply become another sect, or, worse still, a church controlled by a secular state. The reaction to this new situation took two forms. On the one hand moderate liberals like Thomas Arnold believed that the Commonwealth-Church idea was of such value that it should be maintained by extending the Establishment to include most of the Dissenting bodies. This thesis was put forward by Arnold in a book entitled The Principles of Church Reform. His proposals were based upon the assumption that there was very little real difference between the religion of the Dissenters and that of the Church of England. By this means he hoped to preserve the Establishment and restore harmony to a Christian community that was being seriously disturbed by the political activity of Dissent. Since even this expanded version of the Establishment would not have

included Roman Catholics, it is difficult to imagine that it could have succeeded in securing that end. The Tractarian or Oxford Movement was the other and more important attempt to come to terms with this new situation. It believed that the only salvation for the Church lay in the reassertion of its distinctive spiritual nature - not in compromising it.[1] To William Palmer [2] Dr. Arnold's proposals did not suggest a solution so much as they reflected the general confusion of the times: "Such was the disorganization of the public mind, that Dr. Arnold of Rugby ventured to propose, that all sects should be united by Act of Parliament with the Church of England, on the principle of retaining all their distinctive errors and absurdities."[3] Because they believed that friendly association with Dissenters compromised the position of the Church, the Tractarians could not conceive of any reconciliation with them short of their unconditional

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1. Commenting on these two solutions, Wilfred Ward said: "The Newmanites proposed to inoculate the Church with a little Popery, the Arnoldites to inoculate it with a little liberalism, as the best safeguard against these diseases in their malignant form." W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement (London: 1889), p.58.
2. William Palmer of Worcester College, Oxford. There was another William Palmer - of Magdalen College - associated with the later phases of the Movement who is generally distinguished from the former by the prefix "Deacon." This practice will be followed herein.
3. A Narrative of Events connected with the Publication of the Tracts for the Times (2nd ed., London: 1883), p.99. Originally published in 1843.

individual submission. As Brandreth has put it: "'The defense of Church principles,' came, therefore, to mean the defense of them against Dissent, and this was not the most hopeful ground upon which to seek means of reconciliation."[1] They publicly dissociated themselves from and strongly repudiated the rapport that the Evangelical Revival had established between certain elements in the Anglican Church and Dissent. In the early 1830's they made a great show of withdrawing all support from the nondenominational British and Foreign Bible Society, which was an expression of this evangelical relationship.[2] This purposeful dissociation from Dissent was at least partially due to the Movement's insecurity within an unsympathetic church. To exert their influence they had to take extreme measures. It is not without significance that the Anglo-Catholics began to adopt a more sympathetic attitude towards Dissent at the end of the century - a departure from their "primitive" practice that coincided with their own victory over the various groups which had attempted to drive them out of the Church of England.

Though the Catholic Emancipation Act was as distasteful to the early Tractarians as the repeal of the

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1. Oecumenical Ideals, p.60.
2. Cf. A. P. Perceval, Reasons Why I am not a Member of the Bible Society (London: 1830).

Test and Corporation Act, it was one of a series of events heralding a reviving Roman Catholicism which was to play a very important part in Anglo-Catholic ecumenical history. The first such event was quite accidental. At the time of the Revolution a large number of the French clergy sought refuge in Britain. Though their motives were probably more political than religious, English churchmen of all parties gave these clergymen refuge. This intimate and sympathetic contact with Roman Catholics helped break down the barriers of ignorance that had separated the two churches for so long. This renewed contact also revived some scattered interest in reunion. That this interest had no particular "party" character is evidenced by the fact that one of its most notable exponents, Dr. Shute Barrington, the Bishop of Durham, was only a moderate High Churchman if not an Evangelical.[1] In 1816 a Roman Catholic lawyer named Charles Butler published a comparative study of the Roman, Eastern, and Protestant confessions that adopted a broad reunionist position. Two years later an Anglican clergyman named Samuel Wix published a book on reunion that created considerable controversy - partly because it granted the Papacy a primacy of order if not of jurisdiction.[2] In

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1. Cf. Brandreth, Op. cit., p.8.
2. Reflections concerning the Expediency of a Council of the Church of England and the Church of Rome being holden, with a view to accommodate Religious Differences. Cf. Brandreth, Op. cit., p.9.

1824 an exploratory opening of the subject was made by the Roman Catholic Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin in a letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Though this letter was extremely irenic in tone, it did not receive any significant response from the Anglican side.[1] During the early 1830's there was virtually no contact between the Tractarians and Roman Catholics - save for some unsatisfactory impressions of Continental Catholicism received during their travels by Froude, Newman, and Pusey. In fact the early Tractarian writers were quite consciously anti-Roman. Towards the end of the '30's and in the early '40's a number of personal contacts were made however. These contacts stimulated an interest in the establishment of better relations between the two communities.[2] One of the earliest and most significant of these associations was between the Roman Catholic (formerly Anglican) layman Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle and Dr. J. R. Bloxam of Magdalen College. But in 1841 Bloxam became disillusioned with the whole attempt to establish closer relations with Rome when an Anglican friend was "converted" while visiting a Roman Catholic religious establishment.

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1. Cf. Brandreth, Ibid., pp.10-11.
2. At this time organizational reunion was seldom envisaged. Ecumenists usually sought a form of mutual recognition that would be visibly expressed in intercommunion. The modern ecumenical vocabulary did not begin to emerge in a technical sense till the end of the century.

This friendship was picked up on the Anglican side by W. G. Ward, the leader of what has often been called the "Romanizing" school within the Movement. The fact that the personal discussions with Roman Catholics were often carried on by this group in the early '40's had the effect of arousing the suspicion of the more moderate Tractarians towards the whole project - especially after the secession of that group to the Roman communion in 1845.

The real impact of Rome upon the Tractarians was not made by this type of friendly intercourse. That impression was primarily due to the increasingly aggressive character of English Roman Catholicism in the first half of the nineteenth century - an aggressiveness culminating in the reestablishment of the Roman hierarchy in Britain in 1850. The revival of the Jesuit Order in 1814, the Catholic Emancipation Act in 1828, and finally the establishment of the Dublin Review in 1836, all had their effect upon Anglicanism. Under the guidance of D. O'Connell and N. Wiseman the Dublin Review adopted a deliberate policy aimed at undermining the work of the Oxford Movement. This policy had an immediate effect upon the Tractarians. Under Wiseman's mercilessly logical attack, their faith in the catholicity of the Anglican Church was badly shaken - in Newman's case, irreparably shaken. But part of the success of this timely Roman propaganda was due to developments within the Movement itself.

Any analysis of the causes of the Oxford Movement must take into account not only the socio-political situation and the traditional Anglican High Church position, but also the impact of Romanticism's medievalism and the sympathetic treatment of Roman Catholic traditions by Prof. Charles Lloyd. Lloyd taught the future leaders of the Movement to regard the pre-Reformation and post-Reformation English Church as a continuous body; he showed them how the Prayer Book was an Anglicization of the Roman Missal and Breviary; and he taught them to study the Council of Trent sympathetically - an attitude that was to play a prominent part in the ecumenical thought of the Movement between 1841 and 1870. There was, therefore, a sympathetic disposition towards Roman traditions from the very beginning of the Movement. But the Tractarians still knew very little about that church - and it was of this ignorance that Wiseman took advantage in the Dublin Review. Writing of this period, Frederick Oakeley - a member of the Wardian faction - said:

> "It must be very difficult [for English Roman Catholics who were born within that tradition] ... to realize... the depth and extent of the ignorance which prevailed among members of the Anglican Establishment at the beginning of the Tractarian Movement with regard to the state and feelings of the Catholic community in England. It is no exaggeration to say that many of us knew far more about the manners and customs of the ancient Egyptians, or Scythian tribes, than of the characters and

> doings of this portion of our fellow-countrymen."[1]

The early Tracts were, as I have suggested, definitely anti-Roman - they were described as aiming to combat both "Popery and Dissent." In his Apologia Newman said that this anti-Romanism was indispensable to the Via Media.[2] R. H. Froude, who is often cited as the most pro-Roman of the early Tractarians, very definitely repudiated what he called Rome's "sinful terms of communion."[3] The "sinful terms of communion" were the Tridentine definitions. It is interesting to note that this attitude was adopted by Froude after a conversation Newman and he had with Dr. Wiseman at the English College in Rome.

The pro-Roman school, which moved in to fill the gap left by Newman's uncertain leadership in the early '40's, had its origins in a source quite distinct from that of original Tractarianism. A group of outspoken young men, they had come to admire the riches of Roman ceremonial and devotional traditions quite independently of the Via Media which they never adopted. To them the words "Catholic" and "Roman Catholic" were synonyms. In the Movement itself they were less interested in the old Tractarian

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1. Historical Notes on the Tractarian Movement (1833-1845) (London: 1865), pp.34-35.
2. Via Media was the term used by the Tractarians themselves to describe their position. It was the middle way between Roman Catholicism and popular Protestantism.
3. Cf. W. Palmer, "The Oxford Movement," Contemporary Review, XLIII (May, 1883), pp.647-648.

attempt to assert the essential catholicity of the Anglican Church than in approximating Roman practices. Newman described the impact of this group in the Apologia in the following terms: "These men cut into the original Movement at an angle, fell across its line of thought, and then set about turning that line in its own direction."[1] Of a typical member of this group, Frederick Oakeley, he said: "... he had entered late into the Movement; he did not know its first years... he was naturally thrown together with that body of eager, acute, resolute minds who had begun their Catholic life about the same time as he, who knew nothing about the Via Media, but had heard much about Rome."[2] The influence of this group would have been considerably less if they had not succeeded in taking Newman with them. Palmer believed that this influence was due to Newman's inability to control his

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1. Apologia pro Vita Sua (London: 1864), p.278.
2. Ibid. Oakeley himself gives a very interesting description of the conduct of these young men when visiting Roman Catholic countries on the Continent: "Whatever our Tractarian friends may have been on this side of the Channel, there could be no doubt of their perfect Catholicity on the other. It was, in fact, so enthusiastic and demonstrative a character as to astonish the natives themselves, and sometimes even perhaps to shame them. Our friends used to distinguish themselves by making extraordinarily low bows to priests, and genuflecting, even in public places, to everyone who looked the least like a bishop. Everything, and everybody was charming; and such a contrast to England! Catholics might have their faults like other people, but even their faults were better than Protestant virtues." Historical Notes, pp.73-74.

overzealous disciples, the general ignorance of actual Roman thought and practice, and the efforts of the Dublin Review.

Much of the general Tractarian attention to questions of unity and reunion in the early 1840's was motivated by an anxiety to keep these men within the Anglican Church. Newman's controversial Tract XC was the first studied attempt to reconcile Anglicanism with Tridentine Romanism for this purpose. He believed that if it could be shown that membership in the Anglican Church - as determined by subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles - was not irreconcilable with an acceptance of the Tridentine definitions, these men could be prevented from following the logic of their present position, which would mean "going over" to Rome. To do this he developed the thesis that the Articles were designed to counteract certain "Romish" abuses and not the official position of the Roman Catholic Church as represented by the Council of Trent. In fact, he said, the Articles could not have been a repudiation of Trent because their formulation preceded the publication of the Tridentine decrees.[1] Other

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1. G. Faber has pointed out the historical difficulties of this assertion. Though the first Latin draft of the Thirty-Nine Articles was prepared before the Convocation of 1562 - two years before the decrees of Trent were ratified and published (1564),- the final draft in English and Latin was not adopted by Convocation and Parliament till 1571. Cf. Oxford Apostles: A Character Study of the Oxford Movement (2nd ed., Hammondsworth, Middlesex: 1954), note on p.398.

members of this extreme group began to entertain the hope that the ills of the Anglican communion could be cured by organic reunion with Rome. This hope was behind a letter written to the French Catholic paper L'Univers by "a member of the University of Oxford."[1] Based upon the premises of Tract XC, this letter suggested that the reunion of the two churches was close at hand:

> "The eyes of all Christendom are at this moment turned to England, so long separated from the rest of Catholic Europe. Everywhere a presentiment is gone abroad that the hour of her reunion is at hand, and that this island, of old so fruitful in saints, is once more about to put forth fruits worthy of the martyrs who have watered it with their blood."[2]

This end could be realized if the two churches would "do penance together" for their past sins and seek out their common catholic faith together. The increasing opposition to the Movement shattered these hopes and the position of this group gradually changed to an acceptance of the "full round of Roman doctrine," and their ecumenical program to bringing as many Anglicans with them to Rome

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Besides these chronological difficulties it is not unreasonable to assume that the position taken by the Tridentine Council, which had been meeting intermittently since 1545, was known to the framers of the Articles.

1. There has been some controversy over the authorship of this letter. W. G. Ward's biographer attributed it to him, (Cf. W. Ward, W. G. Ward, p.187) but Brandreth makes a more convincing case for the authorship of Dalgairns - another member of this extreme school. Cf. Oecumenical Ideals, note on p.24.

2. Quoted in W. Ward, W. G. Ward, p.187.

as possible. Though the moderate Tractarians were anxious that the extremists should not secede, they felt that too much direct association with Rome at that stage of the Movement would only do their cause harm. They believed that both churches would have to undergo considerable internal reformation before the time was ripe for discussions about establishing friendlier external relations. But the difference between their position and the earlier Wardian one was a difference of degree, not of kind. They simply expected more extensive reforms and "explanations" on the part of the Romans than the extreme group did. All in all the external circumstances of the Tractarian Movement did not permit serious discussion of reunion with Rome.

Though the presence of an increasingly active Roman Catholic Church in Britain focused most Tractarian attention upon that branch of the Catholic Church, there was a developing interest in the Eastern Orthodox churches as well. This interest was nourished by Britain's increasing political activity in the Near East as well as by missionary activity in the area. In the 1830's lines of communication with these churches were opened in a number of ways. The Greek community in London was revived and an Orthodox chapel was established with a Greek pastor. Both the C.M.S. and the S.P.C.K. sent representatives into the Levant offering to help the Greek churches there - though

many Tractarians were extremely suspicious of such actions both because they regarded them as transgressions upon the jurisdictional rights of the Orthodox Church and because these representatives also dealt with various schismatic and heretical bodies. Of course the Tractarian branch theory, in which the Roman, Eastern, and Anglican churches were together regarded as constituting the visible Catholic Church, was bound to promote at least a theoretic interest in closer relations with the East as well as with Rome. Some, who were not so favorably disposed to Rome, even felt that closer ties with the East would prevent untimely advance in the other direction. But for the most part this interest in the East was academic in the Tractarian period.[1]

European politics also brought the Anglicans into contact with Continental Protestantism. While the precise status of that body had not been fully determined in Tractarian theory, in 1841 the Movement was forced to take a definite stand - a stand which virtually amounted to unchurching at least the German Protestants. If the Oxford of that time knew little about Roman Catholicism, it knew even less about Protestantism on the Continent. Though the theologians and churchmen were keenly aware of

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1. The best account of Tractarian relations with the East is given in P. E. Shaw, The Early Tractarians and the Eastern Church (Milwaukee: 1930).

the German Biblical thought, they usually regarded it as something to be destroyed rather than understood, and there was no real knowledge of German philosophical thought. The one man at Oxford who had really studied German religious thought sympathetically chose to repudiate the insights of that study. This man was E. B. Pusey. Brilioth believes that Pusey's Theology of Germany is "one of the most thorough works on German theology which has seen the light in England."[1] At the time of its publication Pusey was charged with Rationalism, and though he repudiated the charge then, in his later days he so regretted having written the book that his will included the request that it not be republished.

In the period of our study (1833-1920) there were two outstanding cases in which the Anglo-Catholic attitude towards non-episcopalians caused extensive controversy in the English Church. The first was the establishment of the Jerusalem Bishopric in 1841, and the second was the Kikuyu Missionary Conference of 1913. The ill-fated Jerusalem Bishopric was an interesting venture. In the Near East of 1841 there was a close connection between ecclesiastical and political interests. Through the Orthodox Church Russian interests were served, and through the Latin Church

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1. Y. Brilioth, The Anglican Revival (London: 1925), p.28. The full title of Pusey's study is: An Historical Enquiry into the Probable Causes of the Rationalist Character of the Theology of Germany (London: 1928).

French influence was directed. Frederick William IV of Prussia, who conceived the idea of joining with the English in establishing a bishopric at Jerusalem that would represent German and English "Protestant" interests, had long been concerned about the divisions among Christian nations. In the spring of 1841 he sent his personal representative, C. C. J. Bunsen (later Baron), to England to approach the government with the idea of a joint bishopric. He received an enthusiastic reception and concluded arrangements by early autumn. In August the Archbishop of Canterbury notified the bishops of the scheme and received no objections. It is difficult to account for the fact that though these negotiations were not secret - the proposals had been made public as early as August 14th [1] - and Bunsen was a frequent guest at the Pusey home, there was no Tractarian objection to the plan until arrangements were completed in the autumn. On October 5th Parliament removed all the legal obstacles to the scheme,[2] and still there was no objection. The candidate for consecration had already been chosen and the date for the event set for October 31st (though in fact it did not take place till November 7th) before public controversy was

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1. Shaw, Early Tractarians, p.110.
2. They made it possible for the Archbishop to consecrate non-Englishmen and waived certain oaths to the crown.

opened by a leading article in The Times of October 19th. This article, by Roundell Palmer, took the line that the bishopric would be a travesty upon the rights of the Eastern Church. An editorial in the Standard of that same date was more realistic in pointing out that the establishment of one more bishopric in Jerusalem would do little to change the competitive situation that already existed. In the correspondence that Bunsen carried on with his wife throughout the period of the negotiations, there is no reference to Tractarian opposition till October 24th - at which time he refers to some misgivings Gladstone had expressed about the scheme. In a letter of October 26th he refers to "Newmanite" resistance as if it had been going on for some time, but this need not refer to long-term opposition. It is a fact that Newman himself did not know the details of the plan till November 10th, when J. S. Hope sent him that information. In November the Tractarians launched a full-scale attack. This delay can only be explained by the Movement's preoccupation with other problems earlier in the year. Newman was being attacked for Tract XC, Pusey was being criticized for a trip he had made to Ireland to study the organization of Roman Catholic convents, and an increasingly large number of bishops were attacking the Movement publicly. These earlier controversies, largely involving the charge that the Movement was moving towards Rome, contributed in no small measure to the

hostility of some Tractarians towards the bishopric. Though they did not see the significance of the bishopric till it was too late to do anything about it, a number of them - particularly the Wardian school - were greatly shaken by it. The Catholic character of the English Church was being seriously compromised if not altogether denied. Newman himself said that it was a blow from which he never recovered - and one that hastened his decision to join the Roman Church. Even so there were some members of the Movement - particularly the High Church element [1] - who felt that the bishopric was a good thing.

The mixed reaction of the party was partially due to current misunderstanding of the bishopric's precise nature. Because it was primarily a political arrangement, churchmen were not made aware of the details of the plan. In fact, the exact ecclesiastical provisions of the scheme were not fully determined till after the bishopric had been established. In a letter dated June 18, 1842, the Archbishop of Canterbury was still making final arrangements with Frederick William IV.[2] Those who resisted the scheme as a compromise with Protestantism did so on the assumption that it was a union of the Anglican and German churches in

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1. Cf. Appendix A for a discussion of the distinction between this group and the main body of Tractarians.
2. Cf. W. H. Hechler, The Jerusalem Bishopric (London: 1883), historical section, p.116ff.

Jerusalem. In what was known of the plan at least four factors pointed to this conclusion: (a) the bishop was to be nominated alternately by the English and Prussian crowns, (b) half the endowment was supplied by King Frederick William, (c) the German Liturgy was to be allowed, and (d) in order to be ordained by the bishop the Germans would have to signify their acceptance of the Augsburg Confession. But what the Tractarians knew of the King and Bunsen's ecumenical views was an even more significant factor in their conviction that the bishopric was, in fact, a union of the two national churches. It was generally known that Frederick William IV shared his father's (Frederick William III) ambition to "episcopalianize" the German Church. It was a natural conclusion that he should attempt to do so by means of a joint venture in Jerusalem - a venture in which provision was made for the episcopal ordination, and, presumably, consecration of German churchmen. Though the Tractarians could not have known it, there is evidence to suggest that something like this was behind his initial proposals. It should be noted, however, that he conceived of "unity" not as an organizational fusion but as a form of cooperation between state churches. This was the official German understanding of the scheme as it appeared in the newspaper Allgemeine Zeitung on November 13th:

> "As two parents in their love towards their child enter into a more exalted union, even

> so the Evangelical Churches of Prussia and England, hitherto divided, have in this daughter Church of Jerusalem tendered to each other the hand of true union. It is not contemplated, indeed, that the English Church should abandon her institutions for those of Prussia, or the Prussian hers for those of England; but the two Churches, by their recent act, have mutually recognized that, in their relations to each other, their constitutional forms are non-essential, while the union in spirit is the essential; and their conviction of the existence of this true union they have practically manifested by the establishment of a daughter Church..."[1]

It is hardly necessary to say that this document raised considerable controversy in England - and not from the Tractarians alone. But it was simply another example of the extremely fuzzy conception of the project that seemed to prevail on both sides.

More important than Frederick William's views were those of his agent, Bunsen. As early as 1833 Froude records a meeting with him in Rome at which those views were stated. In a letter to a friend, he tells of Bunsen's interest in "episcopalianizing" the Prussian Church, and of the problems involved:

> "The difficulty is about the present clergy: they will not, as I understand, consent to reordination: so how can a Bishop take them under his jurisdiction, or how can any of them be consecrated Bishop without being

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1. Quoted in Hechler, Jerusalem Bishopric, historical section, p.38.

> first ordained? I am afraid these difficulties will not be settled without a sacrifice of principle. To be sure it would be a great thing to have a true Church in Germany..."[1]

In a letter dated September 24, 1836, Bishop Patric Torry refers to a German doctor who had been sent to study the episcopal churches in England, Scotland, and America with a view to establishing a similar Church order in Prussia. This mission was sponsored by Frederick William III. The same letter mentions a "Mr. Bunse," tutor to the crown prince, who was evidently also interested in the project. Deacon Palmer tells of a visit with Bunsen in 1839 at which this question was discussed. Though Baroness Bunsen denied that there was any such motive behind her husband's negotiations in 1841,[2] the Tractarians' suspicions could not be called unjustified in light of these facts.

But it was Bunsen's ecumenical vision, not his interest in the form of the German Church, that disturbed the Tractarians most. He conceived of a unity considerably more concrete and organized than simple cooperation. Though he did not publish The Constitution of the Church of

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1. Froude, Remains (London: 1838), Part I, Vol.I, p.302. Newman was with him at the time.
2. "As for the report spread and credited on the Continent that Bunsen, as well as his Royal master, intended surreptitiously to introduce Episcopacy and Episcopal Ordination into Prussia, it was solely founded on a supposition wholly unsupported by any act or measure proposed." Memoirs of Baron Bunsen (London: 1869), Vol. I, p.370.

the Future till 1847, he had made no secret of his views. H. P. Liddon thus described Bunsen's ecumenical interest in the Jerusalem project: "In his view the proposed bishopric was 'the foundation of a new body which was to supplant eventually all the other portions of the Church.'"[1] This interpretation is supported by the contemporary correspondence of J. R. Hope (later Hope-Scott). In a letter to Newman dated November 10, 1841, he said:

> "In the minds of some at least of its originators, a vague plan is entertained of breaking up all the old forms, and, by a religious revolution, planting a new Church in opposition to those now existing."[2]

And in a letter to Gladstone dated November 19, 1841:

> "I gain daily more evidence, and into such a plan for gathering up the scraps of Christendom and making a new Church out of them I do not think that I for one can ever enter."[3]

And with specific reference to Bunsen, he says in a letter to Sir Robert Inglis dated January 11, 1842:

> "That gentleman... in speaking of the proposed Bishopric... described it, as far as I remember, to be the foundation of a new body which was to supplant eventually all the other portions of the Church."[4]

Though Bunsen denied such charges, there is evidence that at least once during the negotiations he had attempted to

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1. Life of E. B. Pusey (London: 1893), Vol.II, pp.256-257.
2. R. Ornsby, Memoirs of J. R. Hope-Scott (London: 1884), Vol. I, p.305.
3. Ibid., p.314.
4. Ibid., pp.291-292.

inaugurate such a venture. Bunsen's letters to his wife are again very useful. While earlier letters refer to the establishment of an "Anglican Colonial Bishopric," a letter dated July 13, 1841, suggests that the English agreement to the maintenance of German services and Confessions encouraged him to press for something more than this, a "higher flight":

> "When I perceived that it was admitted that the plurality of tongues and of articles was not contrary to unity, I took the offensive, and argued that they must act in a catholic (i.e., universal) and not in an Anglican sense, and that they ought to be foremost in establishing the principle of 'unity in principle with national individuality'; that Rome was digging her own grave by taking the contrary course. This was yielded: and then I took my higher flight..."[1]

That he had a kind of Church union in mind, and that this was accepted by the Anglican authorities at this point - or at least that he understood it to be accepted - is quite clear. This conception of the project is evident in a letter dated August 6, 1841:

> "All is settled finally. The Bishops will request next Thursday the authorization of the Crown to consecrate Professor Alexander as Bishop of the United Church, consisting of members of the National Churches of England and Prussia, at Jerusalem."[2]

Bunsen's "higher flight" seems to have caused some anxiety

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1. Bunsen, Memoirs, Vol. I, pp.272-273.
2. Ibid., p.374.

for Frederick William, who feared the consequences of such a bold step at home. In a letter dated August 11th, Bunsen refers to this apprehension - and from this time onward maintained the original idea of the bishopric as being purely Anglican:

> "On Friday came a second courier [from the King], in consequence of a misunderstood expression, from which he feared the idea might go forth as if an union of the two Churches were aimed at - for which Germany was certainly not prepared...
> "An admonition not to go on too fast, closed with the words, 'Our digestion cannot yet bear strong meat. For God's sake, for the sake of the holy cause, gently!'"[1]

Bunsen's wife could have reminded him that the King had interpreted his thoughts quite correctly. It must be remembered that Frederick William was thoroughly acquainted with Bunsen's views on the subject. Despite this early attempt to make the bishopric a part of a greater ecumenical venture, I think the fact is indisputable that Bunsen's later correspondence with Gladstone, in which he insisted that the bishopric was entirely Anglican, does accurately describe the nature of the final arrangements. In answering a letter of Gladstone's, in which a concern had been expressed lest German churchmen ordained by the bishop would be qualified to officiate in English churches, thus undermining the Anglican position with respect to Dissent

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1. Ibid., p. 375.

in Britain, Bunsen said:

> "This is not the case. They must be ordained by him because the diocese is one of the Anglican Church... Of course such a demand would not have been made, if the bishopric had been one common to both Churches, as was supposed by my countrymen, who therefore protested against the obligation of the Jerusalem ordination."[1]

The point of this rather lengthy discussion of the bishopric's background is that it was not unreasonable for the Tractarians to assume that this scheme involved an association with the German Church which was more than a special arrangement whereby Germans in the area could seek the counsel and protection of an Anglican bishop. And it was to this association with Protestantism that those Tractarians who repudiated the scheme objected most violently.[2] The motives behind this reaction will be

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1. Bunsen, The Constitution of the Church of the Future (London: 1847), pp.xxxix-xl. The same position was taken by Bunsen in a document entitled "Fundamental Principles" which, dated July, 1841, evidently came before his "higher flight": "... It was not the object to incorporate two constitutions into one Church, or two jurisdictions into one diocese, or two distinct things into one whole. The purpose was, not to establish a Prussian, or a Prusso-Anglican episcopate, but a Bishopric of the Church of England, to which individual German flocks and ministers might adhere without surrendering their nationality." Hechler, Jerusalem Bishopric, document section, p.36.
2. In this connection there is some uncertainty regarding the confessional standards required of candidates for ordination. One understanding of the arrangement is given by Brandreth in Rouse and Neill's History: "The bishop was to be nominated by England and Prussia in turn; he was to ordain German clergy on their subscription to the Confession of Augsburg, and Anglican clergy on their subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles." p.288. But the official

considered in more detail below. Though complicated by a political element that has not been involved in later schemes of reunion, the Jerusalem Bishopric provides us with an early example of the type of reaction that the Church of England came to expect from the Anglo-Catholics whenever closer relations with non-episcopal communions were involved.

The Sub-Tractarian Period: 1845-1900. The years between Newman's secession and the end of the century gave

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understanding of the matter soon after the bishopric was established was quite different. In a letter to Frederick William IV (dated December 9, 1841) the Archbishop of Canterbury said that the clergy ordained by the bishop to preside over German congregations should be ordained according to the English rite and would be required to sign the Thirty-Nine Articles. In addition they would have to present a certificate declaring that they had officially subscribed to the Augsburg Confession. Cf. Hechler, Jerusalem Bishopric, historical section, p.116ff. There is a suggestion in a later letter (dated June 18, 1842) that this procedure had been modified. At that time it was suggested that the German candidates should show a statement of fitness issued by the appropriate authorities of the German Church and then would be ordained on the basis of their affirmation of the three creeds alone. License would be granted upon the receipt of an oath of canonical obedience. This latter arrangement could be described in the terms Brandreth used, but neither the initial official statements or those made by Bunsen in his correspondence with Gladstone describe the ordination requirements in these terms. In any event Newman had been informed that all candidates for ordination would have to subscribe to the Articles. In a letter to Newman dated November 10, 1841, Hope thus described the plan on this point: "The 39 Articles are to be assented to by all candidates for Orders, of whatever nation: Germans, in order to show that they are able to officiate in their own country, are to bring proof that they have subscribed to the Augsburg Confession." Quoted in Ornsby, J. R. Hope-Scott, Vol. I, p.304.

the Anglo-Catholics little opportunity or desire to enter into friendly discussion with Protestant bodies. These were the Movement's most difficult years. Whereas the Tractarians were violently attacked by members of the University of Oxford and by individuals in the Church at large, the sub-Tractarians were subject to an organized semi-official and even official persecution. Whether or not this opposition was justified, the fact remains that while Anglo-Catholics were being vigorously attacked by "Protestants" within the Church of England there was little chance that they would look upon Nonconformists or non-English Protestants with any sympathy or interest. Ecumenically speaking, to establish more intimate relations with such bodies would only strengthen the enemy. The surprising thing is that there was any interest at all shown in such communities. The conflict between "Catholic" and "Protestant" interests in this period began with the appointment of Dr. Hampden - the man who had come to symbolize everything that the Tractarians were fighting in Oxford - to the See of Hereford. Though this was not a major controversy it did set the pattern that was to be followed for the next half century. What was initially a doctrinal question turned into an Anglo-Catholic challenge of the state's right to judge such cases. The Protestants quickly discovered that their best ally was the Establishment, and the Anglo-Catholics became confirmed in their

belief that the Church could only be the Church if it were freed from its involvement with the state. The Hampden appointment came in the middle of what proved to be a much more important case - that involving the installation of one G. C. Gorham in the living of Bampford Speke (in the diocese of Exeter) against the wishes of the diocesan bishop, H. Phillpotts. When the living was awarded by the Crown in 1847, the bishop refused to institute Gorham. His actual reasons for refusing to do so involved what he considered to be unsound views on baptism, but he could not charge Gorham with heresy because he already was vicar of St. Just-in-Penwith in the same diocese - and besides that heresy is a very difficult charge to substantiate in the English Church. But the very fact that Gorham's right to minister in the diocese was not being challenged led to the conclusion in some quarters that the whole affair was a case of personal discrimination. Nevertheless it came to be regarded as a test of the English Church's soundness on the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. When, after a series of appeals, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council ruled against Bishop Phillpotts on the grounds that Gorham's views were not legally irreconcilable with his subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles, certain members of the extreme school who had not gone over to Rome with Newman in 1845 did so.[1] The issue was extremely confused

1. The most important of these was H. E. Manning, later Cardinal and Archbishop of Westminster.

at the time. While some treated the matter as a test of the Church's orthodoxy - and a large number of these left the Church as a result of the decision, - others challenged the right of the Judicial Committee to judge in such matters at all. One of the side effects of this case was a strong movement to revive the atrophied Convocations - an effort that succeeded in reestablishing the Canterbury Convocation as a significantly active body in 1852, and the York Convocation in 1861. Canon Lacey has rightly pointed out that the most serious aspect of the whole case was lost sight of in the general confusion. The Privy Council had a perfect right to decide the legal side of the question, but what it did not have a right to do was overrule, as it did, a bishop's judgment concerning the competence of a priest to be admitted to the cure of souls in a particular place. This was unjustifiable state interference.[1]

In 1854 another court-doctrine battle began - this time it was initiated from the Protestant side. G. A. Denison was denounced by a fellow clergyman for preaching what he considered to be an un-Anglican doctrine of the real presence. Though Denison was eventually acquitted, much bitterness was aroused by the case.

In 1860 the Anglo-Catholic Church of England Protection

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1. Cf. T. A. Lacey, The Anglo-Catholic Faith (London: 1926), p.56ff.

Society (founded in 1859) became the English Church Union, and the strongest party organization in the English Church was created.[1] Though the E.C.U. was established to protect Anglo-Catholic interests generally, its main business in this period was to represent the party in legal controversies concerning ceremonial practices. This was the line of attack taken up by the Protestants. The Protestants themselves organized the Church Association in 1865. The object of the Association seems to have been the systematic application of legal sanctions against the Anglo-Catholics - but their methods often went far beyond this. Anglo-Catholic historians claim that they were not above hiring or at least encouraging mobs to break up

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1. G. B. Roberts characteristically denies any party connections. It cannot be called a party organization, he says, because it represents the true Church position and has never "so much as thought of forcing the observance of the Church's standards upon others." History of the English Church Union, 1859-1894 (London: 1895), p.396. Turning this subtle argument around he says that it is the Protestants that constitute the party because they do not accept Church principles. In other words, though they would not force Church principles upon others, the Anglo-Catholics would say that whatever rights of opinion others had, the right to think that they could logically remain within the Church of England was not one of them. They should have the courage of their conviction and follow their Puritan forefathers into Dissent: "This fate they might have avoided [becoming enmeshed in their own 'Erastian god Dagon'] had they faithfully trodden in the steps of their Puritan forefathers who, when their 'exceptions' against Catholic practices and doctrines were rejected at the Savoy Conference, recognized that the Church of England was no place for them. The 'Protestants' are the real 'party' in the Church..." Ibid., p.397.

Ritualist services, or purposely setting out to create dissention within parishes ministered by Anglo-Catholic priests.[1] However much such charges are based upon bias and circumstantial evidence, there is sufficient substance in them to make quite understandable the contempt with which the Anglo-Catholics referred to this organization as the "Church Ass,""Persecution Company, Limited," etc. I have seen no modern "Protestant" attempt to justify the methods of the Association either.

The Association's greatest "victory," and at the same time, ironically, the primary cause of its failure to drive the Ritualists from the Church, was the passage of the Public Worship Regulation Act in 1874. Though the Church Association was not directly responsible for this Act, it was certainly they who prosecuted the Ritualists under its authority. The Act set up a lay court (presided over by an ex-Divorce Court Judge, Lord Penzance) to decide cases in which there was an alleged violation of the Anglican laws concerning the conduct of public worship. Originated by Lord Shaftsbury and supported by Archbishop Tait,[2] it was evidently an attempt to circumvent the

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1. Cf. Dr. L. Morse-Boycott, They Shine Like Stars (London: 1947), p.214ff.
2. Gladstone opposed the Bill - which, all other considerations aside, could be expected since Disraeli supported it.

Anglo-Catholic objections to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Five Anglo-Catholic priests were prosecuted by the Church Association under this Act, but not one of them would appear before the court. All were therefore sent to jail - with sentences ranging from sixteen days to over a year and a half.[1] All this did was provide the Movement with martyrs and make the Church Association look ridiculous and Erastian. There was no question in the Anglo-Catholic mind as to who was responsible for these imprisonments. Clifton Kelway reminds his readers that,

> "it is necessary that we should recollect that these priests were all prosecuted by the Church Association, or, - as Archbishop Magee termed it - 'The Persecution Association, Limited'. Formed in 1865 'to counteract Popery and Ritualism', the ruling spirits of the Association were men of wealth, not of wisdom. As Archbishop Benson said 'There is something in "Protestant Truth" which is very concordant with wealth.'"[2]

In the case of one of these prosecutions - that of Dale - the Church Association seized the parish's Charitable Trust Funds to pay for the action.[3] Such procedure could hardly be expected to do other than convince the Ritualists of the justice of their cause.

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1. Those who were imprisoned were: Arthur Tooth in 1877 for twenty-eight days; T. P. Dale in 1880 for forty-nine days; R. W. Enraght in 1880 for forty-nine days; R. F. Green in 1881-1882 for five-hundred and ninety-five days; and J. Bell-Cox in 1887 for sixteen days.
2. The Story of the Catholic Revival (London: 1915), p.95.
3. Cf. Ibid., p.98.

In 1890 the Protestants attempted to prosecute a bishop for illegal ceremonial practices. The Episcopal Church in Scotland had had a case in which a bishop - Bishop Forbes of Brechin - was involved, but this was the first attempt in England to reach so high. The bishop involved, Edward King of Lincoln, was one of the first bishops to align himself openly with the Anglo-Catholic cause - though he was in no sense an extreme Ritualist. In Anglo-Catholic ranks he was regarded as something of a saint. A parishoner petitioned the Archbishop of Canterbury to take action against him for assuming the Eastward position at the altar, for using altar lights, for using the mixed chalice, for making the sign of the cross at the absolution and blessing, for cleansing the communion vessels at the altar, and for adding to the Prayer Book service. Archbishop Benson was in an extremely delicate situation. If he ruled in favor of King there was the possibility that the Church Association would appeal to the secular courts - thus precipitating another long public controversy, - and if he ruled against him the increasingly powerful E.C.U. would undoubtedly organize a strong protest with the same effect. Instead of bringing King before a synod of bishops, as had been requested, Benson revived the Archbishop's personal court - long in disuse - to try the case. The privacy of such procedure was to be preferred. The trial took place between the 4th and 25th of February, and on

the 21st of November judgment was given. In characteristically Anglican fashion the judgment, though largely favorable to King, was ambiguous enough to make definite action against it unlikely. In the 1890's there were some other last-ditch attempts to prosecute the party for ceremonial practices but by this time Anglo-Catholicism was coming to be recognized as an established fact, and the Church of England was growing tired of continuing controversy.

The explicit identification of their persecutors with Protestantism could not, as I have suggested, provide the kind of sympathetic atmosphere necessary to reunion discussions with non-Anglican Protestants. But though they themselves had little contact with such bodies, the Anglo-Catholics did feel it their obligation to protest against fellow Anglicans "compromising" the position of the Church by unwarranted association with them. In the 1850's they began registering strong objections to the practice of Anglican clergymen participating in interdenominational communion services. In 1857 there were two such cases. The first concerned Anglican participation in the united communion service at an Evangelical Alliance meeting in Berlin, and the other was Archbishop Tait's administration of holy communion to an international and interdenominational conference of the Y.M.C.A. in London. In the first year of the E.C.U.'s existence, 1860, that body protested

against the practice of Anglican clergymen joining together with Dissenting preachers in conducting services of worship in theaters.[1] Again, in 1862, the E.C.U. felt it their duty to prevent foreign (i.e., Continental Protestant) pastors from officiating in Anglican churches during the International Exhibition of that year. According to Roberts, their efforts were largely successful.[2]

One of the clearest statements of the sub-Tractarian attitude towards Continental Protestants is to be found in Pusey's Introduction to F. G. Lee's collection of Essays on the Reunion of Christendom (1867). The fact that he was there dealing with the episcopal Scandinavian churches makes his total rejection of them as true churches - largely because of their Lutheran doctrine - all the more significant. To establish closer relations with those bodies as they then existed would compromise the Catholic character of the English Church. In fact he compared the significance of such a relationship with that of the Jerusalem Bishopric.

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1. Cf. Roberts, English Church Union, p.19. It is not clear from Roberts' remarks whether it was more concerned with the company or the place - probably there was objection to both.
2. "The steps which the President and Council took during the influx of foreigners into the country during the Exhibition, for the prevention of foreign pastors, not in Holy Orders, officiating in churches, was, upon the whole, successful; for only one or two cases occurred, and these were in proprietary chapels." Ibid., p.42.

In 1870 the Education Act intensified the animosity between Anglicans and Nonconformists - a point of conflict which continues to cause a great deal of bad feeling. In that same year the Dean of Westminster's invitation to the committee on Biblical revision - which included a Unitarian - to receive holy communion in the Abbey roused more controversy and has been dubbed the "Westminister Scandal" by Anglo-Catholics. In 1873 the Evangelical Alliance again caused Anglo-Catholic protest when a united communion service was held at its New York meeting. There was a similar objection to the open communion held at the independent Grindelwald reunion conferences of 1892. As Anglo-Catholic influence in the Church increased, such protests became increasingly effective - though the practice of joining in such services was not officially forbidden.

There were, however, a few significant exceptions to this uncompromisingly negative attitude towards Protestants in the sub-Tractarian period. The most important of these was the Home Reunion Society. This Society was started by William Mowbray in 1873, but it was not finally constituted till 1875, when Dr. E. H. Browne, Bishop of Winchester, became its president. Its first chairman and most influential supporter throughout his life was Horatio, third Earl Nelson. These men were all High Churchmen, if not Anglo-Catholics, and the Society was definitely committed to "Church" principles: "Its purpose was 'to

present the Church of England in a conciliatory attitude towards those who regard themselves as outside her pale, so as to lead to the corporate reunion of all Christians who hold the doctrines of the Ever-blessed Trinity and the Incarnation and Atonement of our Lord Jesus Christ.'"[1] It would not enter into any undertaking that would compromise the three creeds or the episcopal constitution of the Church. Its main value was in establishing a point of contact between Churchmen and Nonconformists: "It has done much by prayer, conference, and social intercourse to bring about a better understanding."[2] It also published a large number of papers on the subject - presenting all points of view.

The primary direction of the increasingly self-conscious Anglo-Catholic ecumenism during this period was towards Rome and the Eastern Orthodox churches. The interest in closer relations with the latter, though actively promoted by the Anglo-Catholics, was quickly taken up by the Anglican Church as a whole. The principal external factor in this relationship was Britain's increasing political involvement in the East. But the work of individual Anglo-Catholics also did a great deal to

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1. Brandreth, Unity and Reunion: A Bibliography (London: 1945), pp.93-94.
2. S. L. Ollard, Reunion (London: 1919), pp.124-125.

educate Englishmen about the Eastern Church and interest them in establishing closer bonds of communion. In some respects the distance between the spheres of activity of the two churches helped maintain a sympathy that was not always possible with an openly competitive Roman Catholicism in Britain. The very anti-Romanism of some Anglicans encouraged an interest in the Eastern churches. In any event what had been of academic interest to the Tractarians took concrete forms in the sub-Tractarian period. Deacon Palmer's negotiations with the Russian and Greek churches represent something of a transition between the period of theory and the period of actual contact. The individual efforts of Palmer to gain admission to the communion of the Russian Church in the early 1840's were primarily intended to validate the claims of the branch theory, i.e., that the visible Catholic Church existed in three parts or branches, the Roman, the Eastern, and the Anglican, and that membership in one implied membership in all.

In 1840 Palmer went to Russia with a letter from Dr. Routh, President of Magdalen College, indicating his intention to study the Russian Church and language. The letter also suggested that his orthodoxy should be determined in order that he might be admitted to communion. Georges Florovsky thus summarizes the reception Palmer received in Russia:

> "As was to be expected Palmer's hope was frustrated. His claim to be a member of the Catholic Church was

> met with astonishment. Was not the Church of England, after all, a Protestant body? In 1838 and 1839 Palmer had written in Latin an Introduction to the Thirty-nine Articles, which he endeavoured to interpret in a 'Catholic" sense. This he now offered to the Russian authorities as a basis for doctrinal discussion. Not everything in Palmer's explanations was satisfactory to the Russians. They insisted on complete conformity in all doctrines, and would not consent to confine agreement to those doctrines which had been formally stated in the period before the separation of East and West. The main interlocutor of Palmer was the Archpriest Basil Koutnevich, who was a member of the Holy Synod. He was ready to admit that doctrinal differences between the Orthodox and Anglican Churches, if properly interpreted, were inconsiderable. Nevertheless, in his opinion, the Anglican Church was a separate communion. The Eastern Church was the only true and Orthodox Church, and all other communions had deviated from the truth. Yet, since 'Christ is the centre of all', some Christian life was possible in the separated bodies also. Naturally the Russians were staggered, as Palmer himself stated, 'at the idea of one visible Church being made up of three communions, differing in doctrine and rites, and two of them at least condemning and anathematizing the others!...'
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> "In brief, the Russian authorities refused to regard Palmer's membership in the Church of England as a sufficient reason for claiming communicant status in the Orthodox Church, and could not negotiate reunion with a private individual."[1]

This is typical of the response received by Anglicans at the hands of the Orthodox Church during our period - though that Church was always more willing to discuss the issues involved than was Rome. Palmer continued his efforts despite this initial rejection. In the process he even

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1. Rouse and Neill, History, pp.198-199.

became involved in Russian court affairs. In 1846 he wrote what was probably his most important contribution to the question, A Harmony of Anglican Doctrine with the Doctrine of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of the East. It was written anonymously with the express purpose of securing an official endorsement of what was essentially Orthodox doctrine from the Episcopal Church in Scotland. Though he had friends in that Church - the Bishop of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane had even consented to write an advertisement for the book - the effort was unsuccessful.[1]

In 1847 John Mason Neale published the first part of his History of the Holy Eastern Church - a much more profound Anglo-Catholic contribution to the subject. Neale did more than any other Anglo-Catholic to further the cause of closer understanding between the Anglican and Eastern churches. His work was based upon sound scholarship, loyal Anglicanism, and a great interest in the traditions of the East.[2] He was not the sort of "ecclesiastical Don

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1. Florovsky writes: "... it was wholly unrealistic to suppose that that Church would endanger its relations with the whole rest of the Anglican Communion by coming out boldly in favour of doctrines which the majority of its bishops and faithful members did not hold." Ibid., p.199.
2. Florovsky thus describes the significance of his work: "In both countries there were groups earnestly interested in rapprochement between the respective Churches. John Mason Neale, by his historical studies and translations of Eastern liturgical texts, did more than anyone else to further this idea." Ibid., pp.200-202.

Quixote"[1] that Deacon Palmer had been.

In 1851 two very interesting things happened that involved Anglo-Catholics with the East. The first of these took the form of a letter to the Eastern Patriarchés, in which the second Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem (Gobat) was accused of seeking proselytes among the Orthodox. The purpose of the letter, which was conceived by Neale and signed by Pusey, Keble, Isaac Williams, and over one thousand others, was to show that a substantial number of Anglicans were not in agreement with this practice. Though I have seen no record of the Orthodox authorities' reaction to this letter, there was a reaction from the two English and two Irish archbishops, who in 1865 sent an address of a sympathetic nature to Gobat. Ollard interpreted this action as one directed "against the party of the Church Revival at home."[2] The second incident was a repercussion of the Gorham case. A group of Anglo-Catholics, disillusioned with the Anglican Church, opened correspondence with the Church of Russia concerning a proposed secession. Florovsky thus describes the case:

> "The proposed basis of reunion was to include recognition of the seven Ecumenical Councils, the Russian Catechism as an outline of doctrine, and repudiation of Lutheran and Calvinist leanings. Connection with the Russian Church

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1. This is Florovsky's phrase. Cf. Ibid., p.198.
2. Reunion, p.67.

> was expected to be only temporary. Anglican rites and devotional forms were to be kept, and the English language to be used. The Synod was asked to investigate the problem of Anglican Orders, and, in the event of a favourable decision, which was expected, to confirm the clergy in their pastoral commission."[1]

This scheme bears a certain resemblance to the non-Juring secession.

Largely through the efforts of J. M. Neale, the Eastern Church Association was founded in 1863. The objects of the E.C.A. were: (a) to promote friendly intercourse between the two churches, (b) to educate Anglicans concerning the Orthodox Church, and (c) to provide financial assistance for the Orthodox bishops wherever possible. One of their major concerns, of course, was the prevention of Anglican proselytizing among the Orthodox. The Association had a long and fruitful existence - though it lost its original association with the Anglo-Catholics. As Brandreth has put it: "From 1870 onwards in England, and also largely in America, the movement for closer relations with the Eastern Churches, with a vew to ultimate reunion with them, has passed out of the hands of the Catholic revival as such, into being the practical policy of the Anglican Church as a whole."[2]

Two other ecumenical associations founded by Anglo-

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1. Florovsky, Op. cit., p.202.
2. Oecumenical Ideals, p.59.

Catholics in this period involved the Roman Catholics as well as the Orthodox. The first of these was the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom, which grew out of a meeting held in the rooms of F. G. Lee in 1857. Representatives of the Anglican and Roman churches were present. The emphasis at this time was upon common prayer rather than a particular ecumenical program. The Anglicans were anxious that there should be some vindication of their orders - a suggestion made by Lord Glasgow in a letter to Lee [1] - but it was decided that the A.P.U.C. itself should only be committed to prayer. It was finally founded at a meeting in the parish of S. Clement Danes, Westminster, at which thirty-four people, including members of all three churches, enrolled. Lee himself describes the purposes of the Association in the following terms: "United prayer that Visible Unity may be restored to Christendom."[2] Probably the most unfortunate thing about this venture was its close connection with Lee. Though he denies that there was any purpose other than this simple one of united prayer, many of the A.P.U.C.'s friends, as well as enemies, regarded it as something of a visible expression and vindication of the branch theory. That theory was certainly put forward in

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1. Cf. Brandreth, Dr. Lee of Lambeth (London: 1951),pp.79-80.
2. From the editor's Preface, F. G. Lee,(ed.), Sermons on the Reunion of Christendom (London: 1864), p.xi.

Lee's The Union Newspaper and its successor, The Union Review. The Newspaper was founded at the same time as the A.P.U.C. and both were generally associated with that organization.[1] Some of the older men were shocked by these publications and withdrew their active support of the Association. One of its founders, Bishop Forbes, was among this number. Nevertheless the Association was successful in securing members from all three churches. In 1864 Lee could say that while most of its members were Anglicans there were about one thousand Roman Catholics and three hundred Orthodox members.[2] It was in that year, however, that through the efforts of Dr. Manning Roman Catholic participation was officially forbidden - thus terminating the effective work of the Association. The main reason for this action is revealed in the first clause of the Pope's letter on the subject:

> "That the theory that Christendom or the Christian Church consists of three parts, the Roman, the Greek, and the Anglican, is a heresy overthrowing the nature of unity, and the Divine constitution of the Church."[3]

The A.P.U.C. claimed that this was a misrepresentation of

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1. A connection not difficult to make when, with obvious reference to this newspaper, Lee speaks of the "paper of the Association" in the Preface to his edition of Sermons (p.xii), or when one opens a copy of the Union Review to find A.P.U.C. membership forms included therein.
2. Sermons, p.xii.
3. Quoted in H. E. Manning, The Reunion of Christendom (London: 1866), p.6.

its official Appeal, which did not say that the Church actually did exist in three branches - thereby committing all its members to the branch theory,- but that each of the three bodies claimed for themselves the name Catholic, which was a simple statement of fact. Some attribute this "mistake" to faulty translation into the Latin, and others to purposeful misrepresentation on Manning's part.[1] And yet if there had been an initial misunderstanding on this point, it would have been cleared up by the letter which the Association sent directly to the secretary of the Holy Office, Cardinal Patrizi, in answer to the Pope's letter of September 16th. In that letter the Association's official position was clearly stated. It also dissociated itself from any necessary connection with the Union Review.[2] Anglo-Catholic historians tend to make too much of this alleged misunderstanding. Whatever the Association may have been officially, it had come to represent an ecumenical position totally unacceptable to Ultramontane Roman Catholicism. And however much the Association may not have been directly responsible for the Union Review, the close connection between the two in the public mind was all that mattered to the Roman authorities.[3] Nor

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1. Cf. Brandreth, Oecumenical Ideals, p.36.
2. Cf. Manning, Op. cit., p.6ff.
3. The suspicions of Manning and the Roman Catholic bishops in Britain had been aroused by the publication of letters from "disgruntled converts, and notably from E. S. Ffoulkes, attacking, among other things, clerical celibacy."Brandreth,

was this misunderstanding limited to the Roman Catholics. Writing in 1888, Anglican S. Kettlewell thus describes the objectives of the A.P.U.C. as he understands them:

> "Nor is it vague in its terms and proposals for compassing it [unity], which in substance is, that all the old Apostolic Churches should accept and abide by the definitions of faith, and the rules and Constitution of the Church, as set forth by the first four or six undisputed general Councils. This however, would entail a renunciation of all those corrupt additions to the faith which were not sanctioned

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Op. cit., p.35. Accordingly those bishops sent a letter to the Pope requesting that he forbid further Roman Catholic participation. This he did. De Lisle lays much of the blame upon the Review: "We had an organ in the press, it was called the Union Review - nothing could be better than the tone of this periodical from its first years, but unfortunately a poison was introduced - by whom? by some bad and factious Catholic priests in the North of England. These men were at open war with their bishops, were tired of the restraints of Clerical Celibacy and other Catholic ascetic observances, and in their wickedness and folly they flattered themselves that by means of Reunion they could overthrow the Discipline of the Church, as laid down by the first Council of Nicaea. Articles were written in this sense in the Union Review, and two clergymen of the English Church, who had joined ours, made themselves very conspicuous in advocating these innovations, attacking some Catholic Bishops even by name. I knew what would be the end of this and I wrote to warn the Editor of the Review [Lee], a most excellent Anglican clergyman. He entirely agreed with me, but others were too much for us, and he allowed, against his own wish, the Review to continue the channel for their miserable articles. The result was, what I warned him it would be. Some of our Bishops from England complained of the thing, and represented to the authorities at the Holy See, that the working of the Association, especially thro' its official organ the Union Review, instead of promoting union among the separated fragments of the Christian Church was spreading disunion and disaffection in the ranks of that portion of the Baptized Body which alone remained faithful to Catholic principles and Catholic Unity." Quoted from a letter to Lord John Manners, Ibid., p.35. Note that even de Lisle represented the Review as the official organ of the A.P.U.C.

> by those Councils, and all those arbitrary measures which trespass upon the independence of National Churches, which ought not be, so long as they faithfully keep to the decrees then generally accepted by all."[1]

This typical sub-Tractarian statement could never have been accepted by either the Roman or Eastern members of the A.P.U.C., but it does reveal the extent to which the organization was misunderstood even in the minds of those who should have known better.

The last ecumenical association of which we will speak was also largely the work of Lee. Together with T. W. Mossman and J. T. Seccombe he founded the highly secretive Order of Corporate Reunion in 1877. Like many other Anglo-Catholics, Lee was convinced that Catholic reunion would be assured if Anglican orders could be proved valid beyond reasonable question. He evidently came to believe that the only way in which this could be done would be to secure the conditional reordination of Anglican clergymen through channels that could not be questioned by Rome or the Orthodox. Though not much is known about the O.C.R., it was said that Lee, Mossman, and Seccombe secured episcopal consecration at the hands of Roman and Orthodox prelates. One tradition says that this was done on the high seas so that jurisdictional questions

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1. An Inquiry into the Basis of True Christian Unity (London: 1888), Vol. I, pp.84-85.

would not be involved. The idea was that these three would secretly administer conditional reordination to the Anglican clergy. It is not known how many such ordinations were in fact carried out - if any. The Order issued a Reunion Magazine (not to be confused with the Anglican Papalist publication of a similar name which was founded in the 1920's) for two years. Needless to say it was not officially recognized by any of the three bodies involved, and it has always been a source of embarrassment for Anglo-Catholics. Brandreth says that "it was entirely repudiated by High Churchmen;"[1] Ollard calls it "entirely unimportant;"[2] and Morse-Boycott calls it "a mad attempt" that "contributed nothing to the cause of Reunion."[3] One reason for this unanimous repudiation of the venture was the way in which it fed fuel to the fires of the opposition, which was always too ready to suspect the Movement of attempting to carry the Anglican Church to Rome - by fair means or foul.[4]

Though most Anglo-Catholic ecumenists made no secret of their interest in rapprochement with Rome, the external relationships with that Church actually worsened during the

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1. Unity and Reunion, p.49.
2. Reunion, p.37.
3. They Shine Like Stars, p.234.
4. An example of the type of opposition that capitalized on such insignificant incidents is provided in W. Walsh's popular, if ridiculous, Secret History of the Oxford Movement.

sub-Tractarian period. At least they worsened from the Anglican point of view. All the barriers that Anglo-Catholicism had broken down, all the new channels of communication that had been opened, seemed to serve the Roman propaganda more effectively than they served the cause of Christian reunion. Though the increasing strength of Roman Catholicism in Britain in the nineteenth century cannot be attributed to the Oxford Movement alone, there can be little question but that that Movement aided the process in many ways. Writing some twenty years after Newman's secession, Frederick Oakeley lists the following advantages the Movement secured for Rome: (a) numerical additions - in those twenty years several hundred clergymen and thousands of laymen (largely from the lower classes) seceded from the Anglican Church,[1] (b) the prestige and influence of the converted clergy helped break down the former barriers of ignorance and suspicion,[2] (c) these conversions revealed the divine character of the Roman Church because the decisions to "go over" were reached independently of its propaganda,[3] and because the converts had everything to

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1. Writing in the late '30's, Pusey had said that there were hardly any converts from Anglicanism to Rome.
2. Morse-Boycott attributes the current (1947) figure of 10,000 converts to Roman Catholicism each year - mostly from Anglican ranks - to the break down of the old suspicions in the nineteenth century. Cf. Op. cit., p.116.
3. This is not strictly accurate - we have already noted the influence of the Dublin Review.

loose and nothing to gain, in a worldly sense, by their action, and (d) the intellectual stature of a number of the converts broke down the old belief that Roman religion was incompatible with intelligence. The brilliance of Newman's Apologia, published in 1864, contributed in no small measure to this new attitude. Anglo-Catholics continued to believe, nevertheless, that all this was to the good. Firmly entrenched in their belief that the churches were kept apart by intracommunal impurity, lack of good faith, and misunderstandings, and that reunion or visible unity could be secured by sincere efforts - honestly accepted by both sides - to explain in a true Catholic sense the points of dispute between them, they believed that closer relationships of any kind were promising.[1] Their almost

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1. In his introductory essay for Lee's Sermons, Pusey puts this position concisely. There are two ways of looking at the awakening interest in the Roman communion, he says: (a) you can look upon it as providing opportunities for individual submission, or (b) you can see in it the hope of corporate reunion. He believed that the latter possibility, the one to be preferred, could be realized if proper explanations were given of what was de fide: "The other looks to that to which we also look, the Re-union of the whole, only that, naturally, we have in our minds definite explanations of all the points of difference, which we are convinced that they could give (if they would) authoritatively, and which, if given authoritatively, we could receive. They, since we have not proposed them, have only this principle, that they could give explanations, if only those explanations did not involve their parting with anything laid down to be 'de fide.'" p.xlv. Even at that time (1864) Pusey reveals an anxiety lest the Romans elevate to the level of de fide that which was previously only "pious opinion." Thus there is a certain sense of urgency. While the Anglo-Catholics could reconcile themselves to the Tridentine definitions and even a moderate Mariology, they

exclusive contact with the Gallican party gave them some hope that their efforts were not in vain. A number of important books were written from this perspective. Newman's Tract XC provided their basic pattern. On the Roman side de Lisle's On the Future Unity of Christendom (1857) was the outstanding work, and on the Anglican side Forbes' An Explanation of the Thirty-nine Articles (1867) and Pusey's three Eirenicons were the most important contributions. These writers believed that both the Tridentine decrees and the Thirty-Nine Articles could be explained to everyone's satisfaction. Though Pusey rightly, I think, recognized the defeat of this hope in the Vatican Council of 1870, other Anglo-Catholics continued to accept its presuppositions even after that time. Viscount Halifax's attempt to secure the recognition of Anglican orders in the 1890's is one example - an example the more notable because he continued to believe the position valid even after the Bull Apostolicae Curae had been published in 1896. Like the Gallicans, these men refused to admit that the Roman Church had succumbed to the Ultramontanes.

But to those who stood on more objective ground it was obvious that the Roman position was hardening during

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could not accept the doctrine of papal infallibility which the Gallicans assured them was still within the realm of "pious opinion."

the latter half of the century. Pope Pius IX's reestablishment of the Roman hierarchy in Britain on September 24, 1850, was only the beginning of this process. While this in itself indicated that there was no thought of recognizing Anglican claims in Rome, converts from Tractarianism like Manning, Oakeley, and Ward, made that prospect even less likely by contributing to the consolidation of Ultramontanism in Britain. The second and most serious blow was delivered by the Vatican Council's proclamation of the dogma of papal infallibility. Pusey gave up all hope of reunion at that time - an attitude reflected in the title given all subsequent editions of his third Eirenicon, Healthful Reunion, as conceived possible before the Vatican Council.[1] In Britain the Council was interpreted as Manning's victory over the Gallicans and a repudiation of the Anglo-Catholic advances. Of Manning's efforts and the Council, Morse-Boycott says:

> "... to the end of his long life he wielded all the weapons that could be forged in the armoury of the Curia against the Anglo-Catholic Movement; helped to make an unbridgeable gulf between Canterbury and Rome with the dogma of Infallibility..."[2]

While this was discouraging enough, the Anglicans

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1. The original title was, Is Healthful Reunion Possible?
2. They Shine Like Stars, pp.164-165.

received an even more direct rebuff in the 1890's. By that time some Gallicans and Anglo-Catholics had begun to make the optimistic observation that even the dogma of infallibility might be explained in an acceptable sense. After all, they pointed out, it is impossible to determine exactly when the Pope is speaking ex Cathedra and therefore infallibly. Halifax even suggested that the Bishop of Rome, as the primate of Christendom, only spoke infallibly in the sense that his was the voice of the Church - thus circumventing the less acceptable idea that his infallibility was derived from his authority as the Vicar of Christ. Others went so far as to argue rather naively (in my opinion) that if, after all, the Vatican decrees represented a change from an earlier position what was to prevent the Roman Church from reversing itself once again? [1] In any event a friendship between Halifax and a French clergyman, the Abbé Portal, blossomed into an official Roman investigation of Anglican orders. At first Halifax proposed a series of informal conferences between their two churches, at which the question of Anglican orders could be raised. In 1894 the French Church began to examine the question. This aroused the interest of Pope Leo XIII, who

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1. It is interesting to note that the Anglican Papalist argument - as given by Spencer Jones - is just the reverse of this. Rome by its nature cannot change, while Anglicanism can - therefore if there is to be reunion the changeable must move towards the unchanging.

appointed a commission to investigate the matter in Rome. This commission met for the first time in March, 1896. But there had been other developments in the meantime. In 1893 Abbé Portal wrote an article in La Science Catholique which concluded that Anglican orders were not of certain validity. In 1894 Abbé Duchesne and Mgr. Gasparri wrote on the same subject - the former declaring for their validity, and the latter against. To encourage this discussion the Abbé Portal founded La Revue Anglo-Romaine in November, 1895. But Britain's Cardinal Vaughan forbade English Roman Catholic contribution to it. The Pope's letter, Ad Anglos - written in April, 1895,- had already put the handwriting on the wall for those who cared to read. This Apostolic Letter urged the English people, as individuals, to return to their true home in the Roman Church. This was the background of the papal commission's meeting. Though Canon Ollard suggests that three of the six members of that commission believed Anglican orders valid - implying that the final ruling by a commission of cardinals might not have reflected the findings of the original commission (i.e., that politics in the person of Vaughan triumphed over objective study [1]), - Brandreth is more cautious

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1. There is no question but that Vaughan believed a declaration against Anglican orders at that time would precipitate a large number of secessions to the Roman Church in England. Ollard tells us that soon after the publication of the Bull, Vaughan announced the formation of a "Fund for the support of Converted Anglican Clergymen." Reunion, p.41.

in his estimate of the predisposition of the original commission.[1] In any event the result of all this was the Bull, Apostolicae Curae, issued in September, 1896, in which Anglican orders were declared null and void. It has been observed that this Bull represents a departure from the arguments traditionally used against the Anglican Church by Roman controversialists. Previously the question had been largely an historical one - were or were not the Reformed Anglican bishops in unbroken succession with the bishops of the pre-Reformation Church. Part of the Anglican confidence in the 1890's can be attributed to their conviction that their own historians had made their case unassailable. But this Bull declared against Anglican orders on the basis of what was considered to be a faulty form of consecration between the Reformation and the Restoration. This fault had the effect of making all subsequent consecrations invalid - despite the more proper form used.[2] The only consolation Anglo-Catholic

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1. "This Commission assembled in March 1896 and consisted of Dom (later Cardinal) Aidan Gasquet, Mgr (later Cardinal) Gasparri, Canon Moyes, the Abbé Duchesne, a Franciscan Fr David Fleming, and a Spanish Jesuit Fr de Augustinis. Of these Duchesne was the only one known to be definitely in favour of the validity of Anglican ordinations; Gasquet and Gasparri were more or less definitely opposed, and the others doubtful." Rouse and Neill, History, p.297.
2. It is interesting that Liddon had been surprised to encounter a similar argument in Rome as early as 1852. In conversations with the former Anglican, Mgr Talbot, he had been told that it was not the succession but the words used in the rite of ordination that were questioned by Rome. While

ecumenists could draw from this whole venture was the character of the Responsio which the English archbishops (Frederick Temple and W. D. Maclagen of Canterbury and York respectively) published in 1897.[1] It "affirmed clearly the teaching of the English Church on the Priesthood, the Real Presence, and the Sacrifice in the Holy Communion, and this will be an important factor in any future plan of reunion," said Canon Ollard.[2] The doctrine therein affirmed was "High": "The document set forth, in terms more explicit than have been used by such authority before or since, the High Anglican doctrine of the priesthood and sacraments."[3] These events prepared the scene for the twentieth century developments. Some Anglo-Catholics felt that desirable as reunion with Rome was, there was no practical possibility of it in the near future. They therefore turned their immediate ecumenical efforts in other directions - some towards other episcopal bodies, and some towards non-episcopalians. Others

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a variety of practice was permitted in the early Church before the essence of the sacrament had been defined, such was no longer possible since Pope Eugenius IV had defined the essence to consist in the words, "Take thou the power to consecrate the Lord's Body, and offer it for the Christian people, etc.", at the Council of Florence. Since the English ritual was composed after this definition and does not contain these words it is invalid. Cf. J. O. Johnston, Life and Letters of Henry Parry Liddon (London: 1904), p.23.

1. The Responsio was mainly the work of Bishops Wordsworth, Stubbs, and Creighton. Cf. Rouse and Neill, History, p.298.
2. Reunion, p.40.
3. Brandreth in Rouse and Neill, Op. cit., p.298.

maintained an exclusive interest in Rome, clinging to the faith that these events only demonstrated the fact that Rome was ignorant of what the English Church really was, and that, therefore, if the barriers of misunderstanding could be removed all would be well.

But while an official policy of rapprochement with the East and a hopeful but largely discouraged attempt at discussions with Rome were primary factors in shaping Anglo-Catholic ecumenical attitudes, the parallel development of what might be called Evangelical ecumenism was to have an equally important effect upon their twentieth century position. One of the principal differences between the Anglo-Catholic and Evangelical ecumenical development in this period was that the former proceeded from a very definite religious philosophy and ecclesiology while the latter tended to promote interdenominational association for practical purposes. As a result of this, the Evangelical movement did not produce a strong ecumenical theology. In fact it sometimes appeared to be a drifting together of groups that seemed unaware of the reasons for their separation.[1] In the Evangelical Alliance (founded

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1. It must also be remembered that the Evangelical movement did develop a strong denominational theory which almost glorified separation as God's means of working in the world. Of the late nineteenth century Ruth Rouse says: "It was an era of separation between the Churches. Some almost consecrated the principle of separation." Rouse and Neill, History, p.334.

in 1846) this movement found its organized expression: "The Alliance... sought to unite in fellowship all those whose heritage was the Protestant Reformation and who believed in the Bible's full authority, the incarnation, the atonement, salvation by faith, and the word of the Holy Spirit. The Alliance's primary concern was evangelical unity."[1]

But the real force of the ecumenical movement within the Evangelical tradition came from the mission field. With few exceptions the Anglo-Catholics had little to do with the great missionary movement of the nineteenth century, and as a result they were carried along by its tremendous momentum when they did join their cause with the Evangelicals in the early part of this century.[2]

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1. W. R. Hogg, Ecumenical Foundations (New York: 1952), p.36.
2. Strictly speaking it is not accurate to say that the Anglo-Catholics entered into no missionary activity in this period, but that they did not enter into the main stream of that enterprise. They were responsible for founding the Oxford Mission to Calcutta and were closely allied with the Universities Mission to Central Africa. Their religious communities and Sisterhoods were often missionary in character as well. In 1864 two Sisters went to Hawaii to help set up an educational mission for girls, and in 1867 the project's sponsor, Miss Sellen, joined them with three others to set up a priory. Cf. Kelway, Catholic Revival, pp.43-44. The very title of the first Anglo-Catholic monastic order, the Society of St. John the Evangelist (commonly called the Cowley Fathers), founded in 1866, suggests a missionary interest. Though the order was primarily designed to provide for the contemplative life of watching, fasting, and prayer, it had a secondary missionary purpose. The Community of the Resurrection, founded by Charles Gore in 1892, and the Society of the Sacred Mission, founded by H. H. Kelly in 1891, were of a similar nature.

Though these developments provide the background against which Anglo-Catholics who were seriously interested in influencing the ecumenical thought and action of the whole Anglican Church had to work in the early twentieth century, their study is outside the scope of this Thesis.[1]

The general Anglican ecumenical activity in the last half of the nineteenth century reflected both Anglo-Catholic and Evangelical movements, but little attempt was made to really integrate the two - that was left to the great

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The greatest Anglo-Catholic missionary activity was gradually directed through the traditionally "High Church" Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. It was through this Society that they established some of their primary contacts with what came to be called the Ecumenical Movement - though during the nineteenth century the relationship with the Evangelic tradition was usually negative. With reference to the great inter-society missionary conferences of the nineteenth century, Hogg says: "From most of these conferences the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, reflecting the then High Church attitude on 'cooperation,' remained aloof." Ecumenical Foundations, p.32. Morse-Boycott sums up the situation at a much later date, though what he said then would largely apply, if on a different scale, to conditions at the turn of the century: "It is sadly true that, on the whole, Evangelicals have been keener on missionary enterprise than Anglo-Catholics. (Some of the 'best' Anglo-Catholic churches seem to have very little to do with it - save having sermons from Catholic overseas bishops!) The C.M.S. could count dozens of parishes that give £1,000 a year or more. U.M.C.A. can count less than six that would exceed £300. Yet, on balance, the Catholic position does not show up too badly. I estimate that over one-third of the annual Church of England expenditure on missions comes from Catholic quarters." They Shine Like Stars, p.336.

1. The best account of this Evangelical ecumenical development that this writer has seen is Hogg's Ecumenical Foundations. Also Cf. Rouse, "Ch. 7. Voluntary Movements and the Changing Ecumenical Climate," in Rouse and Neill, History, p.309ff.

Lambeth Conferences of the twentieth century. The Jerusalem Bishopric might be described as the first official Anglican ecumenical venture in the modern period, but its political complications and official status as an Anglican colonial bishopric make such a description at least strained. In this case there were stronger ecumenical motives on the Prussian than on the English side. But the bishopric was important in that it established closer contact with the Eastern churches. While Anglo-Catholics may have regarded it as a step in the wrong direction ecumenically, the fact remains that it provided the Movement with one of its strongest exponents of reunion with the East - G. Williams, chaplain to the first Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem (Alexander). There is also no record of the Orthodox authorities having resented the presence of the Anglican bishop. Only advocates of the branch theory, among whom the Orthodox could not be included, were so vitally concerned with jurisdictional questions. In 1863 relations with the East were officially studied by a Committee appointed by the Convocation of Canterbury to confer with the American Church on the subject. In 1866 the scope of this committee was extended. In 1868 the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury resolved that the Archbishop and bishops should open direct negotiations with the Eastern Patriarchs, but, in the words of Canon Ollard, "the Bishops of that day, with one or two exceptions,

were not the men for such an attempt."[1]

Meanwhile, in 1867, the first Lambeth Conference had been called,[2] and the Wolverhampton Church Congress of that same year encouraged the formation of a committee to investigate the possibility of home reunion on the basis of Church principles.[3] This committee came to nothing, being absorbed into the Home Reunion Society in 1878.

Around this time Anglicans developed ecumenical interests in two new areas. The first of these was the Old Catholic churches which had broken with Rome as a result of the Vatican Council - though some antedate that Council.[4] Under the inspired leadership of Dr. John J. I. von Dollinger, two reunion conferences at which Anglican, Orthodox, and Old Catholic churchmen met [5] were held at Bonn in 1874 and 1875. Liddon was very active in supporting these conferences, though Pusey

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1. Reunion, p.68.
2. The importance of these conferences is so great that they are dealt with in some detail in Appendix C. Because of the confidential character of the Conference proceedings and the less extreme position taken by most of the bishops, their direct application to an analysis of Anglo-Catholic ecumenical thought is limited. I have nevertheless found the consultation of the Conference papers - through the kind permission of His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury - extremely valuable in coming to a general understanding of the ecumenical climate of the times (1867-1920).
3. Though Ollard says that its object was to win Dissent by compromise.
4. Notably the Church of Utrecht which left the Roman communion in 1724.
5. A few representatives of other churches also participated.

and even Forbes were not overly enthusiastic. A large number of Anglo-Catholics were opposed because participation in conferences of this sort might prejudice relations with Rome. Others preferred to remain aloof until they could see which direction the Old Catholics would take. Some 1,102 signatories addressed a "Memorial Against Intercommunion with the Old Catholics" to the Lambeth Conference of 1888. Despite this initial coolness, the Anglican Church and the Anglo-Catholics themselves eventually encouraged discussion concerning intercommunion with these churches - discussion which was satisfactorily concluded in 1932.

At the same time there was a growing interest in the Scandanavian episcopal churches - particularly the Church of Sweden. This too was resisted by Pusey and other Anglo-Catholics at first, but was gradually accepted by them as a legitimate object of ecumenical activity. The difficulties involved in this acceptance will be discussed elsewhere.

The century closed with no positive achievements along ecumenical lines, but the force of the ecumenical movement among both Anglo-Catholics and Evangelicals could no longer be ignored. The stage was set for the extremely important first two decades of the twentieth century. It was in these years that the modern Ecumenical Movement was born.

The Early Twentieth Century Period: 1900-1920. The most important difference between the ecumenical activity of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was that while in the nineteenth century most reunion discussion was carried out either by unofficial associations or individuals or as a secondary result of larger conferences devoted to other ends - such as missions, - in the twentieth century it was taken over by the semi-official committees of the Lambeth Conferences or by the Convocations. What had been the vision of a few became the policy of the whole Anglican communion. While this official interest in the cause of Christian reunion can be traced as far back as the Lambeth Conference of 1867, the Anglican Church did not definitely commit itself to seek reunion with non-episcopal churches before Lambeth 1920. One result of this change was that the various ecumenical associations no longer had the primary responsibility in these matters. In 1906 the Anglican and Eastern Orthodox Churches Union was founded - including among its members bishops from both churches - and in 1914 this society was united with the older E.C.A., but the important work was done by the Lambeth Conferences. In 1908 the Conference resolved that a permanent committee should be established to study the question of relations with the East, and in 1919 Archbishop Davidson made the necessary appointments. The Conference of 1920 was attended by an official delegation from the Orthodox

Patriarchs. In 1908 the Society of S. Willibord was founded to promote closer relations between the Anglicans and Old Catholics, but here again the Lambeth Conferences assumed the primary responsibility. In relation to the Roman Church alone was there a virtual official standstill in the first two decades of the century - though one is always aware of that communion's invisible presence during Anglican discussion of reunion.

Though the optimism entertained by certain individuals and associations in the nineteenth century no longer prevailed, there was a wider agreement among Anglo-Catholics regarding the desirability of reunion with Rome. As Brandreth put it:

> "It is true that considerable differences still exist between Anglican Catholics as to the means to be employed to bring about this union, and even as to the nature of the union itself, but the desirability of such a union, when both Churches have shown themselves ready for it, is no longer seriously questioned by anyone who would call himself a Catholic in the Church of England and who would wish his opinion to be seriously considered."[1]

The differences that did exist were nevertheless significant. They were, in fact, the cause of a serious division within the Movement that began in the first decade of the century and errupted into organized "schism" in the third. While the E.C.U. continued its active life well

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1. Oecumenical Ideals, pp.87-88.

into the century, there was a feeling that the Anglo-Catholic cause should be presented in a more popular way. It was to meet this need that the Anglo-Catholic Congresses were organized. In a letter to Archbishop Davidson (dated June, 1920) Prebendary F. L. Boyd said that the Congress of 1920 was designed to exhibit "with all the weight of authority that we could gather together, the true content and proportion of the Catholic faith and practice in the Church of England."[1] In 1918 C. R. Deakin had suggested the idea and helped subscribe members. After a very successful membership campaign the first Congress was held in Albert Hall in July, 1920 - just prior to the Lambeth Conference (timing which cannot be regarded as coincidental). The Hall was filled twice a day for a week. The Report of the proceedings is an extremely valuable index of Anglo-Catholic thought at the time. The second Congress was also held in Albert Hall three years later and was presided over by Bishop Weston.[2] The opposition to Weston's unscheduled proposal to send a message of peace to the Pope precipitated the secession to which I have referred above.

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1. Quoted in G. K. A. Bell, Randall Davidson (London: 1935), Vol. II, p.1034.
2. The Anglo-Catholic Congress absorbed the Anglo-Catholic publishing Society of SS. Peter and Paul (of which Morse-Boycott was the chaplain until he "fell into disgrace by getting married." They Shine Like Stars, p.262) and in 1933 it united with the E.C.U. to form The Church Union.

The group that withdrew believed that the Congress had departed from traditional Anglo-Catholicism. "And this incident, provoked by a delegate to Malines [W. H. Frere]," wrote L. E. Jack, "thereafter caused pro-Romans to regard the 12th July 1923, as the official birth-date of 'non-Papal Catholicism'..."[1]

This extreme movement, often called Anglican Papalism, originated with Spencer Jones' publication of England and the Holy See in 1902. "This book," says Brandreth, "was a plea for a reconsideration of Roman claims by members of the Church of England, and went further in its acceptance of explicit points of Roman teaching than anything yet published by an Anglican."[2] Its first organized expression was the Society of St. Thomas of Canterbury, Students of the Church of the West, the most notable act of which was the establishment of the Church Unity Octave. In correspondence with a similar group in America it was decided that the octave between the Feast of St. Peter's Chair (18th January) and the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul (25th January) should be set aside to pray for reunion on a papal basis. While a number of Anglicans and Orthodox joined, most found the papal basis an insuperable obstacle.[3] The main body of Anglo-Catholics did not join.

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1. Reunion (Dec., 1951), p.484.
2. Oecumenical Ideals, pp.82-83.
3. In the 1930's Abbé (later Mgr) Paul Couturier was

In 1909 it received the blessing of Pope Pius X, and in 1916 Pope Benedict XV "extended its observance to the Universal Church, and enriched it with Plenary and Partial Indulgences."[1] In 1927 the Papalists founded their own organization, the Confraternity of Unity. The object of this society was described as follows:

> "The Confraternity of Unity is composed of members of the Anglican Communion who believe that the See of Rome is the centre of unity for all Churches. Through corporate action within the Anglican Communion and without prejudice to the facts of her sacramental life this Confraternity seeks a basis of reunion with the Holy See."[2]

From the point of view of the Ecumenical Movement, the most important development in the early twentieth century was the merger of the Anglo-Catholic and Evangelical ecumenical traditions. This was brought about partly by certain individuals who believed that the Ecumenical Movement could only succeed in Britain if the whole Anglican Church were involved, and partly by developments within Anglo-Catholicism itself.

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successful in substituting a formula to which all could agree. Based upon the Roman Missal it was, that "our Lord would grant to His Church on earth that peace and unity which were in His mind and purpose when, on the eve of His Passion, He prayed that all might be one." Cf. Rouse and Neill, History, p.348.

1. From an article by S. Jones in Reunion (Nov., 1934), p.70.
2. From an advertisement on the inside back cover of Reunion (Nov., 1934).

J. K. Mozley has pointed out that the death of Pusey in 1882 and that of Liddon in 1890 marked the close of the "original Tractarian tradition, as a unity of religious principle, outlook, and interpretation..."[1] Under Pusey's leadership there had been little opportunity for the Movement to address itself in a constructive way to the new Biblical and social thought. But seven years after his death a group of young Oxford men, sometimes called the Holy Party, who had been brought up within Anglo-Catholicism and regarded themselves as loyal to that tradition, published a volume of essays entitled Lux Mundi which brought in a new era. Its editor was Charles Gore, who had recently been appointed the first principal of Pusey House, Oxford. With Lux Mundi Gore and his fellows revived the theological vitality of the Movement and made Anglo-Catholicism intellectually respectable in the world of science and criticism. These men also had a strong social conscience. Greatly influenced by the social philosophy of Maurice and Kingsley,[2] Gore was quite

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1. Some Tendencies in British Theology (London: 1950),p.13.
2. Gore himself thus described this reconciliation with the principles of men whom the sub-Tractarians had denounced as the enemies of Catholic Christianity: "But towards the end of the last century a great many of those who were deeply devoted to Tractarian principles, and to the catholic doctrine of the person of Christ, came to feel very strongly that the social principles of Maurice and Kingsley, and the idea of Christ's mission which Ecce Homo so forcibly represented, were as far as possible from being antagonistic to the catholic faith..." The Anglo-Catholic Movement Today (London: 1925), p.18.

willing to cooperate with Nonconformists in social works. Unlike the Tractarians who had withdrawn from the Bible Society, not because they did not approve its objectives but because it would involve association with Dissenters, Gore "could see nothing but good" in joining with Nonconformity when it happened to be in the right on a political or social issue.[1] Very soon after his installation as a canon at Westminster, Gore was invited to take part in a meeting of protest against the Turkish persecution of Armenian Christians. Though this meeting was held in the Baptist Westbourne Park chapel of Dr. Clifford and the Anglican incumbent of the parish protested, Gore accepted the invitation.[2] And in relation to the cooperative Christian Social Crusade, he could say:

> "Some of us... felt that, while denominational societies must convert their own bodies, there was a needed fellowship of all the religious bodies which name the name of Christ... The 'Christian Social Crusade' seeks to form and affiliate to one another interdenominational agencies, whereby the sundered portions of the

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1. Cf. G. L. Prestige, The Life of Charles Gore (London: 1935), p.163.
2. Attention must be called to a certain inconsistency in this question. Gore had objected to Canon Henson's preaching to a mixed congregation in a public hall on the following grounds: "But I do maintain the principle that a clergyman of the Church of England must not preach publicly in any kind of building in another clergyman's parish against his protest..." Ibid., p.305. Was there, after all, that much difference between addressing a meeting in a Nonconformist chapel and preaching in a public building to a mixed congregation?

> Christian Church may learn to act as one body in the task of public social and moral witness."[1]

The Liberal Catholics - the name given by Gore himself to the school of which he was the acknowledged leader through the first two decades of the century [2] - were therefore willing to at least associate with Nonconformist and Protestant groups in good works, if not in worship. But it was difficult to determine where and when this association should cease, and even more difficult to work together in this way without becoming aware of the spiritual reality of the other's existence.

It was this development that made Anglo-Catholic participation in the Ecumenical Movement possible. The story of the way in which these men were drawn into this wider Movement is a fascinating one that is well told by Hogg and Tissington Tatlow. It has already been pointed out that the Evangelical ecumenical movement of the nineteenth century had been the by-product of the missionary enterprise. In a number of important field and "home base"

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1. Quoted in Rouse and Neill, History, pp.331-332.
2. In 1923 Fr Woodlock (R.C.) thus describes Gore's influence: "Bishop Gore is unquestionably the leading figure in the Church of England today. He has disciples everywhere. In the country villages, in Cathedral Closes, in University Common Rooms, in business houses there are found the people who 'trust Gore,' who, before deciding their attitude on any question, wish to know what he says about it." Constantinople, Canterbury, and Rome (London: 1923), p.1.

conferences missionaries and church leaders had come to feel a real unity of spirit. Hogg points to the natural result of this discovery:

> "Naturally, then, individuals in unending procession deplored the divisions so apparent among Christians. Yet any suggestion to embody this new spirit of unity in a single organizational structure met the greatest caution and reserve. The majority seemed to fear that such an embodiment would eventually destroy this new something that had been given to them, for had not this spirit and experience of unity come to them primarily through devotion to a common cause? The unity they knew transcended organizational lines. How, then, could it be continued or made more sure by any structure that might limit and that could cause new frictions? But the atmosphere was unmistakable, and the gatherings came to be compared with the ancient ecumenical councils of the Church."[1]

This unity was secured, then, in two ways. First, it depended upon an intense commitment to a particular area of the Church's life - that of foreign missions, - and, secondly, its existence was so fragile that to discuss it would be to destroy it. It was an unwritten rule of these conferences that "controversial" subjects concerning doctrine and order should be avoided.

Towards the end of the century another movement, closely allied with missions, consciously and deliberately challenged this ecumenical assumption. Members of the Student Christian Movement in Britain became convinced that the success of their cause depended upon full Anglican

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1. Ecumenical Foundations, pp.48-49.

cooperation, and this could not be secured if the old rule were followed. Many Evangelicals resisted this development, preferring to preserve the "pure" evangelical character of the Movement, but they were eventually converted or outvoted. Tatlow, in showing how rapidly the new policy was brought into effect, points out that as late as the Liverpool Conference of the Student Volunteer Missionary Union in 1895 - "the first public event in the life of the Movement [British S.C.M.]"[1] - all the important missionary societies were represented except the S.P.G. and the U.M.C.A. "The Movement had as yet only touched part of the Church of England."[2] In the year prior to that conference, Frank Anderson, the travelling secretary for the British College Christian Union, was not permitted to visit the theological colleges of the Church of England - so suspect was the Movement. This was because, as Tatlow says, "the Churchmen who had thrown in their lot with the Movement were almost to a man products of the Evangelical party."[3] Up until this time the Movement had followed the "rules" of the Missionary conferences, i.e., no discussion of controversial issues. But some of its leaders began to question this practice:

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1. The Story of the Student Christian Movement of Great Britain and Ireland (London: 1933), p.69.
2. Ibid., p.72.
3. Ibid., p.115.

> "The more this method of co-operation was discussed the clearer the student leaders became that it could not be their basis of co-operation: men ought not to be asked to suppress their convictions simply because others disagreed with them. We could not be un-denominational; we must be inter-denominational."[1]

But if they were to bring Anglo-Catholics into the Student Movement other obstacles to their participation would have to be removed as well. One of these obstacles had been the traditional practice of united communion services. In 1898 this policy was reviewed and eventually reversed:

> "The majority of the members of the Committee . . . were very reluctant to give up these united Communion Services, but it was nevertheless decided unanimously at Christmas 1898 that we must do so if we were not to risk being plunged into ecclesiastical controversy, as we sought to draw in the different elements in the Church of England."[2]

This was all part of a serious and largely successful attempt to break down the barriers between Church and Dissent, and between the various parties within the Church of England itself, which, the S.C.M. leaders rightly believed, had contributed in no small measure to the scandal of the divided Church throughout the world. Tatlow reminds us that the average Anglican clergyman at that time thought that Nonconformists were mostly Unitarian, and the Nonconformists looked upon the Church of England as dry and formal, if not lacking in true

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1. Ibid., p.138.
2. Ibid., p.137.

spirituality. As a result there was no significant home reunion movement in the nineteenth century - each side simply sought to "convert" the other by individual proselytization: "The result of this was that it came as a later idea to the average Student Movement member that reunion would come not by a stream of proselytes trickling from one religious body into another, but by the denominations discussing with one another the problem of reunion and how to achieve it."[1]

The decision to be interdenominational rather than nondenominational was eventually incorporated into the following official statement:

> "The Student Christian Movement is interdenominational, in that while it unites persons of different religious denominations in a single organization for certain definite aims and activities, it recognizes their allegiance to any of the various Christian Bodies into which the Body of Christ is divided. It believes that loyalty to their own denomination is the first duty of Christian students and welcomes them into the fellowship of the Movement as those whose privilege it is to bring into it, as their contribution, all that they as members of their own religious body have discovered or will discover of Christian truth. The Student Christian Movement, therefore, while extra-ecclesiastical in the sense that it does not concern itself with questions of ecclesiastical organization or Church function, is in a position to have its life enriched by its members each bringing into it as their contribution all the truth for which they hold that their own denomination stands."[2]

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1. Ibid., p.144.
2. Ibid., p.400.

This position was very attractive to the Liberal Catholics who were convinced of the essential rationality of the Catholic system.

Individual Anglo-Catholic leaders gradually became interested in the Student Movement - especially those who were connected with the universities. Tatlow tells of a visit that V. Stuckey Coles, Warden of Pusey House, made to one of the S.C.M. summer conferences. He went because he had been impressed with the beneficial effect a previous conference had had upon a student he himself had been unable to help. Once there he was impressed with the spiritual atmosphere and especially with the person of Henry Hodgkin. He was quite surprised to discover later that Hodgkin was not an Anglican but a member of the Society of Friends.[1] Others had similar experiences. In 1906 the General and Theological Committees of the S.C.M. decided that more conscious effort should be made to welcome Anglicans to the summer conferences. That summer showed some improvement.[2] Addressing that conference, Anglo-Catholic Canon Masterman supported the idea of working together without compromising one's own traditions - "we cannot organize reunion on the basis of disloyalty."[3] In 1908 a letter was sent to the principals of the Anglican

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1. Ibid., p.397.
2. Ibid., p.152.
3. Ibid., p.153.

theological colleges seeking their support with, among others, the signature of W. H. Frere, Superior of the Community of the Resurrection, Mirfield. In that same year the Manchester Church Congress discussed the S.C.M. and several influential Anglo-Catholics gave it their public support. One of these was Dr. E. S. Talbot, Bishop of Southwark and a Lux Mundi essayist, and another was J. O. F. Murray, Warden of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury. The latter made reference to the S.C.M.'s ecumenical significance:

> "We cannot fail to find in this Student Christian Movement an instrument prepared by God Himself for our hand, whereby we may, without any sacrifice of principle, as the natural expression of the inherent, though as yet it may be undeveloped, inclusiveness of our inheritance, encourage our pupils to prepare for that corporate reunion for which we pray."[1]

By the end of 1909 the Anglo-Catholic House of the Sacred Mission, Kelham, had become an affiliate member of the Movement. In 1910 the principals of the Anglican colleges were invited to a conference at which Fr Kelly of Kelham gave strong support to the S.C.M. Shortly after this the colleges that had been represented all became associates. In summing up this remarkably successful effort, Tatlow says:

> "The approach to the Church of England began in 1898, and after twelve years' steady work the Movement was successful in winning the

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1. Ibid., p.390.

support of all its most important theological colleges, and the enrichment of its life which came in both making the effort and achieving the result was well worth the time and energy involved."[1]

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1. Ibid., p.161. This success was not without its problems. Tatlow was criticized by the Evangelicals for bringing in the High Churchmen - especially strong was the protest from the Cambridge Intercollegiate Christian Union which retained, unexamined, "a traditional evangelical theology." Having men like Scott Holland, Gore, Kelly, and Coles on S.C.M. platforms was too much for them, and in March, 1910, they severed their connection with the Movement. Tatlow believes their criticism unwarranted: "A common complaint was that the Student Movement was being captured by the High Church Party. The truth, of course, was that High Churchmen were in a minority and had to accept a great deal that was strange to them in the practice of the Movement and the conduct of its conferences." Ibid., p.387. But Tatlow records an exchange of letters between Neville Talbot (the son of the Lux Mundi essayist) and H. G. Wood that is not without significance in so far as it partially confirms the fears of at least the Nonconformist Evangelicals. Talbot wrote to Wood expressing the conviction that the "converging tendencies of to-day are likely to play into the hands of the Church (though the enemy speaks of it in terms of betrayal and capture)." Ibid., p.394. Wood's reply contains the important observation that the real significance of this convergence was ecumenical: "The Movement is calculated to make us High Churchmen in a broad sense of the term. It stands for an ideal of the Church, of a united Church, which reaches out beyond the achievement of any existing Church, and makes each Church's interpretation of Christianity incomplete. We are looking for a fuller Christianity in a nobler Church. Many, perhaps most, will feel with you that the Church of England, as it stands, comes nearer to this higher ideal than any other existing Church in England. I am personally inclined to agree with you that converging tendencies play into the hands of the Church. But I also feel, as perhaps you do too, that the Church has some way to travel before her expression of the idea becomes a basis of reunion. I take it, however, that the attitude of the Movement must be, to recognize that we are moving towards a higher ideal of the Church, to leave men free to frame their conception of that ideal, but to urge men to recognize the need of a higher Churchmanship." Ibid., p.394. Anglo-Catholicism's highly developed ecclesiology and ecumenical theology were bound to exert a strong influence upon the S.C.M. at this stage in its development.

Parallel with this successful effort to bring Anglo-Catholicism into the S.C.M. was a similar campaign to bring them into the International Missionary Movement. In this drama many of the actors were the same, since the developing International S.C.M. (W.S.C.F.) and International Missionary Movement (I.M.C.) were closely allied. Edinburgh 1910 was a crucial point for both. In the words of Ruth Rouse:

> "The focusing point of the ideas and inspiration which made the new ecumenical movement possible was the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference, 1910. It was a watershed between two eras of Church history. Before 1910 ecumenical movements were like rays of light struggling through a closed shutter into a dark room. Since 1910 the shutters have been flung back and light pours into all the corners of the room. There is 'a thousand times more aspiration, a thousand times more accomplishment.'"[1]

The aspect of the Conference that most concerns us is the fact that Anglo-Catholics, who had previously stood aloof of all such meetings, supported it. And once again this was the result of a planned effort. When the General Committee met in October, 1907, it had added to its original membership Bishop H. H. Montgomery, Secretary of the S.P.G. Though that society would not confirm that appointment for over a year and a half, the fact that in June, 1909, he sat with the International Committee was an unprecedented advance. When that committee met in

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1. Rouse and Neill, History, p.345.

July, 1908, four out of its nineteen members were S.C.M. leaders, but none of them were Anglo-Catholics.[1] At that meeting the agenda was set and a resolution adopted to follow the previous policy of disallowing any discussion of doctrine or polity. They were especially concerned to secure full Anglican cooperation - which meant the support of the S.P.G. and Anglo-Catholic leaders. In 1908, Tatlow had persuaded Montgomery and the S.P.G. to send an official representation to the Liverpool Conference of the S.V.M.U. This was the first "break through."

In this effort, as in that of the S.C.M., Tatlow was the main figure. In 1908, G. Robson asked him to join the conference planning committee, adding, "we want you to bring the Church of England with you"[2] - a staggering assignment for so young a man as Tatlow. He and Prebendary H. E. Fox, a strong Evangelical, were asked to submit a list naming Anglicans who could be approached to serve on the conference study commissions. Fox objected to the inclusion of Anglo-Catholics, but Tatlow knew that upon their cooperation depended the success of the conference. He had his way. Among those named were Charles Gore, the acknowledged leader of the Anglo-Catholic party, E. S. Talbot, Bishop of Southwark, Fr Frere, Father Superior of

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1. They were: Karl Fries, J. R. Mott, J. H. Oldham, and T. Tatlow.
2. Hogg, Ecumenical Foundations, p.111.

Mirfield, Fr Kelly, Director of Kelham, and Dr. Armitage Robinson, Dean of Westminster. But Tatlow's job was not done. J. H. Oldham, as secretary of the conference responsible for approaching these men, called upon him immediately. After they had, in Tatlow's words, "conned the matter over" they decided to start with the Dean since he had great sympathy with the S.C.M. Tatlow therefore went to see him. Thinking that it was to be an S.C.M. conference, Robinson readily agreed to serve on the commission on "Co-operation and the Promotion of Unity." When he found out that it was being organized by the missionary societies he immediately withdrew his agreement. But Tatlow, having come thus far, was not the man to be refused, and he eventually succeeded in bringing Robinson around once again. It was decided that Talbot would be the next easiest man - his son Neville being an active member of the S.C.M., - so both Tatlow and Oldham went to call on him. They were taken aback to find Fr Frere visiting him at the time, but they went ahead with their plan. Of this incident Tatlow recalls that, "It was bad enough to have to face the Bishop, quite dreadful to have to meet the combination of him and the Superior of the Community of the Resurrection!"[1] But in the end they secured the acceptance of both.[2]

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1. Student Christian Movement, p.409.
2. Talbot made no secret of the fact that it was the S.C.M.

Gore proved to be the most difficult. A. G. Fraser was the first to approach him but received no definite answer. In the autumn of 1908 Gore wrote to Oldham asking him whether or not the rule about no discussion of doctrine and polity applied to the commission meetings as well as to the conference itself.[1] Authorized by the British Central Advisory Committee, Oldham replied that the commissions were under the same rule, and that no recommendations for cooperation would be made that involved "questions of conscience or principle." A conference of missionary societies could not, he pointed out, formulate terms of Church union. Oldham followed the letter with a personal visit - at which time he and Gore sat up the whole night talking about the conference. Gore was convinced. The importance of this decision was appreciated by Hogg, who observed that "His prestige was enormous, and his decision became a potent factor in winning all segments of the Anglican Communion for Edinburgh."[2]

But even with this impressive list of Anglo-Catholics

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that had brought him to Edinburgh. At a luncheon during the Conference he said: "We would not have been here in this conference had it not been for the Student Christian Movement." Ibid., p.410.

1. Probably Anglo-Catholics who supported the "open" S.C.M. policy were not willing to attend a conference which adopted a similar policy because they knew that they would be greatly outnumbered. Gore was especially anxious about the cooperation and unity commission in this respect.

2. Ecumenical Foundations, p.113.

supporting the conference official Anglicanism was noncommittal. During the Lambeth Conference of 1908 Archbishop Davidson had been approached about the conference but nothing came of it. On July 5, 1909, a formidable delegation composed of Mott, Oldham, Tatlow, and Fox called on Davidson. He was at first very cautious, especially upon hearing that the S.P.G. had not as yet accepted the invitation, but when he was told that that society had attended the Liverpool Conference he immediately brightened and said: "I am profoundly thankful to hear it. I am profoundly thankful to hear it."[1] But the official decision both by Davidson and the S.P.G. was not made until the eve of the conference - at which time they agreed to attend. The victory had been won and no one underestimated the importance of it. Oldham, a member of the United Free Church of Scotland, said: "The fact that the Church of England was in [the Edinburgh Conference] is most important for the Ecumenical Movement. It could not have developed without the Anglicans."[2] Hogg calls it one of Edinburgh's "most notable achievements,"[3] and O. S. Tomkins listed as the third great accomplishment of the Conference, "the full entry of Anglicanism into inter-Church councils."[4] The fruits of this

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1. Ibid., p.114.
2. Ibid., p.111.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

achievement were evident during the next decade when Anglo-Catholics joined with other Anglicans in a number of conferences with Nonconformists. So long as the policy of the S.C.M. was followed, the Anglo-Catholics, and especially the Liberal Catholics, were willing to participate. If they ever felt that such conferences compromised the "Church" position, however, they opposed them vigorously. Of the former type, the cooperation of Gore and others with the Faith and Order movement is a good example, while the Kikuyu Missionary Conference is an outstanding case of the latter type.

The decade between 1910 and 1920 witnessed an incredibly large amount of ecumenical activity that was undertaken with an equally incredible degree of optimism. There had been nothing like it before, and there has probably been nothing like it since.[1] Most of it caused the Anglo-Catholics a great deal of anxiety. Anglicans were suggesting that an unqualified recognition of non-Anglican - primarily presbyterian - orders, intercommunion, and a free exchange of pulpits were necessary prerequisites for reunion. Others were putting forth schemes of co-operation and federation which could not be reconciled with the Anglo-Catholic understanding of the visible unity

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1. For a good general review of the reunion discussions in this period, Cf. F. T. Woods, F. Weston, M. L. Smith, Lambeth and Reunion (London: 1920). Also, Cf. Rouse and Neill, History, especially Chapters 8, 9, and 10.

of the Church or its episcopal constitution. Some simply damned the whole Ecumenical Movement as "pan-Protestant Federation," while others wrote at considerable length repudiating what they conceived to be false conceptions of the ecumenical task. This was the era in which their ecumenical theology came into its own. In the Kikuyu controversy all this confusion was concentrated.

The Kikuyu controversy was about two distinct things: the first, a proposed federation of the missions represented at the conference,[1] was new; the second, the united communion service held at the conclusion of the conference, had been a subject of dispute between Anglo-Catholics and Evangelicals since the middle of the nineteenth century. The situation was complicated beyond its "merits" both by the fact that the earliest public reporting of the conference had been inaccurate and by Bishop Weston's impetuosity in dealing with the matter. In brief, the scheme of federation was as follows: (a) all those joining the federation would accept the Holy Scriptures as the supreme rule of faith and practice, the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds "as a general expression of fundamental Christian belief," the Deity of Jesus Christ, and the atoning death of Christ as the grounds of man's forgiveness;

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1. The Church of Scotland, the African Inland Mission (American), the Society of Friends, the United Methodists, the Lutherans, the Seventh Day Adventists, and the Church of England (C.M.S.).

(b) there would be a common membership among the societies thus coming together, with members of each being able to commune with the others when temporarily in their territory; (c) the two sacraments would be regularly administered by outward signs; and (d) there would be a common form of Church organization - though each society would remain autonomous within its own sphere of activity. There would be an attempt to develop a common form of worship and there would be a common recognition of ministries. The organization envisaged would follow presbyterian lines.[1] Furthermore, Bell adds, "it was the aim of the proposed Federation to keep steadily in view the ultimate ideal, the United Native Church."[2] At the conference it was understood that this plan was provisional - depending upon the approval of the proper authorities in the respective denominations.

At the close of the conference a communion service was held in the Presbyterian church, celebrated by Bishop Peel. A member of the Church of Scotland preached and all save the Quakers communicated. Two Anglican bishops - W. G. Peel (Mombasa) and J. J. Willis (Uganda) - took part in the conference.

On August 5, 1913, the neighboring Bishop of Zanzibar,

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1. The above account is taken from Bell, Randall Davidson, Vol. I, p.691ff.
2. Ibid., p.691.

F. Weston, wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury announcing, as if it were an accomplished fact, that Mombasa and Uganda had already been instrumental in "federating the Protestant Sects with their Churches,"[1] and that upon official confirmation his diocese would undoubtedly sever communion with theirs. In this first letter he was concerned about the plan of federation only. On August 9th, the British public heard of the conference for the first time through an article in the Scotsman, written by the Rev. Norman Maclean, who had been visiting Presbyterian churches in the area when the conference was taking place. He told of the plan for federation, suggesting that it had at last soved the problem of coalescing episcopacy and presbyterianism - and then described the closing communion service. On September 30th, Weston sent a more formidable document to Archbishop Davidson in which he listed his objections to the scheme of federation and presented a formal indictment against the bishops who had been involved for "propagating heresy and committing schism."[2] In the formal charges he included a reference to the united communion service. He concluded by demanding either a recantation from the bishops or a trial before a court of bishops "in open assembly." As might be expected this set off extensive public controversy. The bishops were called home individually, their cases

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1. Quoted in Ibid., p.692.
2. Ibid., p.694.

heard, and a consultative body set up to investigate the whole affair. The Great War broke out before the issue was settled and public attention was turned away from it. The findings of the Central Consultative Body were not published as such, but in 1915 the Archbishop wrote an "opinion" entitled Kikuyu: The Archbishop of Canterbury. It satisfied no one. Prestige quotes a contemporary wit who summed up its contents in the following sentence: "What took place at Kikuyu was most well-pleasing to God but must never be allowed to recur."[1] Anglo-Catholics didn't like it because it didn't condemn the whole procedure so much as it rebuked the bishops for being injudicious. The Evangelicals and Liberals didn't like it because they considered it to be a semi-official departure from the Anglican tradition of not passing judgment upon the ministry of others. H. H. Henson, a leading Liberal, expressed his dislike of the "opinion" in a letter to Worsley Boden in 1915:

> "The Archbishop's 'statement' is gravely bad, and must do much harm presently. For the first time since the Reformation an authoritative voice from within the Church of England has disowned fellowship with 'the other Protestant Churches,' and has indicated that the sacrament administered by non-episcopal

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1. Gore, p.364. Bell quotes a similar comment paraphrasing the Consultative Body's reply on the Joint Communion Service: "The Commission comes to the conclusion that the Service at Kikuyu was eminently pleasing to God, and must on no account be repeated." Op. cit., note on p.708.

> ministries is so gravely defective that it were better for an isolated Anglican never to receive the Lord's Supper at all than to receive it in a non-episcopal church... [this] prohibits at once for all every advance in the direction of Protestantism, while leaving the sacerdotalists an unimpeded course, and an enhanced authority."[1]

If Davidson did err in this matter it was on the side of caution rather than of compromise. The position taken in Kikuyu represents a very definite theory of reunion - not unlike that of Dr. A. C. Headlam.[2] He knew that Kikuyu was only the first such controversy,[3] and that hasty action would greatly prejudice future opportunities for reconciliation. The question had to be approached within this greater perspective. The basis of his own position was the acceptance of the fact that in East Africa, or anywhere, reunion was going to have to take place, if at all, among those who had already been converted to particular denominations. He therefore accepted what is called the comprehensive idea of reunion, i.e., that reunion would involve the incorporation of the truths of each body into a greater whole, rather than the submission of the many to the one - or the three. Furthermore he did

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1. Quoted in E. F. Braley, Letters of Herbert Hensley Henson (London: 1950), p.13.
2. Cf., Headlam, The Doctrine of the Church and Christian Reunion (London: 1920).
3. "Though larger and darker objects crowd the field today, both in Europe and Africa, what we have learned to call 'Kikuyu questions' are creatures of persistent life, and their future reappearance is assured." Davidson, Kikuyu (London: 1915), p.2.

not believe that an appeal to precedent was possible in this case - there were none. Static patterns were of no use. This was a new problem that had to be worked out in relation to principle and present circumstances under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. It is to the future unity that one must look for the guiding principles rather than to the past. At the same time his understanding of the place of the episcopacy in this reunited Church was traditionally Anglican - though it irritated Anglo-Catholics:

> "They [the problems in this case] turn partly on the question whether the Church of England in addition to the emphasis she deliberately sets upon our Episcopal system has laid down a rule which marks all non-Episcopalians as extra Ecclesiam. The threefold ministry comes down to us from Apostolic times, and we reverently maintain it as an essential element in our own historic system and as a part of our Church's witness to 'the laws of ecclesiastical polity.' We believe it to be the right method of Church government, a method which no new generation in the Church of England would be at liberty to get rid of, or to treat as indifferent. We believe further that the proper method of Ordination is by duly consecrated Bishops, as those who, in the words of the Article, 'have public authority given to them in the Congregation to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard.' But to maintain that witness with all steadfastness is not the same thing as to place of necessity extra ecclesiam every system and every body of men who follow a different use, however careful, strict and orderly their plan."[1]

He emphasized the point that this did not mean that the episcopal constitution of the Church is dispensable:

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1. Ibid., pp.18-19.

> "If, for the sake of securing what looks like a gain in the direction of Church Unity... we were to treat the question of a threefold ministry as trifling or negligible, it is obvious that we might do irreparable ill to the future life of the Church of Christ in that region of the earth. Putting the matter at its lowest, the contribution that we make to the Church of the future must be of our very best."[1]

The most vulnerable part of this document, and the part most often attacked, was the Archbishop's attempt to deal with the practical issues involved in the Kikuyu situation itself. He did not say much about the scheme of federation but did address himself to the question of occasional intercommunion and interchange of pulpits. In relation to the former, he felt that it was permissible to receive to communion those who had not been episcopally confirmed - though not desirable that Anglicans should ever receive the sacrament from the hands of anyone not episcopally ordained, - and in relation to the latter he saw no reason why there should not be, in special circumstances, an interchange of pulpits. He did not think that such practices would involve the recognition of irregular ministries.[2]

The bitter controversy that was waged over Kikuyu inevitably centered on the question of episcopacy. The bishops who had been involved in the conference had evoked

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1. Ibid., p.31.
2. Ibid., p.30.

the Lambeth Quadrilateral of 1888 in their defense, implying that in securing three conditions out of the four they had not done too badly. This, of course, was the result of an unfortunately common misinterpretation of the Quadrilateral as the *terminus ad quem* of reunion rather than its *terminus a quo*.[1] It was in an attempt to marshal the precedents for the Anglo-Catholic position that A. J. Mason wrote his extremely valuable book, *The Church of England and Episcopacy*. The controversy was another one of those points in modern Anglican history where an air of tension and uncertainty about the future of the Church was clearly evident. Though I do not believe that the latter case was so serious, there is a certain similarity with the fearful expectancy of major eruption and schism that characterized the early 1840's. It is this atmosphere that Anglicans have come to dread and will go to great lengths to avoid.[2] As a study of this phenomenon the Kikuyu controversy and its aftermath is extremely valuable. That it should have come on the eve of the modern Ecumenical Movement was fortuitous in that it provided Anglicanism with a measure of its point of tolerance, thus averting a major controversy at a point which would have severely damaged the young movement.

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1. Cf. Appendix C.
2. Anglo-Catholics sometimes exploited this situation by threatening to secede or stir up controversy. For further discussion of this subject cf. Appendix B.

II

Important as these external developments of Anglo-Catholic ecumenism are, the reasons that prompted them to take advantage of the opportunities in the way they did are even more important. The remaining chapters of this Thesis will be devoted to a study of the philosophical and theological conceptions of unity which provided the theoretical background for their ecumenical activity. Without an understanding of this background their relationships with other bodies - especially non-episcopalian Protestants - cannot be intelligently appreciated. They simply appear to be narrow and uncharitable. But Anglo-Catholic ecumenists were motivated by a number of factors that had little to do with the logical application of theological presuppositions to a situation in which divergent Christian traditions were becoming aware of each other. The Protestant ecumenist must understand these as well when he confronts the Anglo-Catholic. Some of these motives were not uniquely Anglo-Catholic in that they also stimulated much Protestant ecumenical activity in the period. Others grew out of the controversial position of Anglo-Catholicism in the English Church. I have simplified the complex question of motivation by reducing its presentation to a discussion of seven types: practical, authoritarian, intracommunal, evangelical, existential, apologetic, and theological. While in any given case a number of these

operate together with conscious distinction, the above order represents an attempt on my part to rank their significance (the first being the least significant and the last the most) to Anglo-Catholic ecumenism as a whole during the period 1833-1920.

The practical motive may be described as a concern about the waste of resources inherent in the overlapping, competitive, inefficiency of a divided Christendom. This motive has a strong effect upon those who regard Church order as an essentially practical thing, but Anglo-Catholics were not uninfluenced by it. As a rule one does not see frequent reference to it in their writing till the end of the century. The branch theory pictured a rather tidy administrative arrangement among the Catholic churches that could be implemented without recourse to reunion, i.e., if Roman Catholics would withdraw from Anglican and Orthodox territory, etc. Therefore this motive did not operate upon the question of reunion in that direction - which, after all, was the primary direction of interest among Anglo-Catholics. At home it simply stimulated their criticism of Dissent for having been responsible for this waste.

The authoritarian motive, i.e., the interest in re-establishing the Church's ability to speak as an authoritative whole, was not so strong among Anglo-Catholics as might be supposed. Though the Oxford Movement was,

among other things, a search for religious authority, the static theory - which will be discussed in detail elsewhere - did not depend upon present administrative or conciliar unity. Though that theory did place a great deal of emphasis upon the dogmatic authority of the ancient undivided Church, most of its advocates saw no necessity for supplementing the doctrinal interpretations then given - after all there was no question of development or progressive revelation, only the clarification of the original public deposit.[1] When they spoke of the desirability of a general council, they usually thought of it as something of an administrative expression of the visible unity of the Church, or else as a means of reuniting Christendom, rather than as a living voice of authority. The same arguments that they used against any claims of absolute authority on the part of the Anglican episcopate [2] could be logically used against any living

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1. For a more extensive discussion of this theory cf., below, Ch. III, p.257ff. Brilioth weighs this motive more heavily than I do: "... its [early Church] importance lies not merely in the fact that it is a means of arriving at the real apostolic doctrine, but rests chiefly on the fact that the Catholic Church, both according to the witness of the Creeds and of Scripture, has the promise of infallibility in matters of faith. But this holds good only as long as it preserves its unity - it ceased in and with the Church's internal divisions. It is plain what intensity this view must give and actually has given to the longing for Church Reunion." Anglican Revival, p.197. It seems to me that his analysis is based upon the logical application of one aspect of the static view, i.e., that the ancient Church derives its authority, in part, from its unity, rather than upon its actual use by Anglo-Catholics.
2. Cf. Appendix B.

tribunal which violated the teaching of the Universal Church (universal in time as well as space) as they understood it. Pusey's Letter to the Bishop of Oxford is typical of the Anglo-Catholic treatment of this subject. There he describes the interpretative authority of the "Universal Church, as attested by the 'Catholic Fathers and Ancient Bishops.'"[1] He criticizes both Protestants and Romans for having departed from the authority of "Apostolic tradition" thus defined. The function of this authority is to attest both the inspiration of the Scriptures and the fact that those doctrines which follow from the Scriptures but are not directly contained in them are, in fact, genuine Apostolic tradition. The basis of this authority is the indefectibility (as distinguished from infallibility) of the undivided Church.[2] Though he admits that there would be a certain value in reuniting the Church, he does not feel that it is necessary:

> "What further fulfilments our Lord's promise may have hereafter, we know not; or whether the Church shall again be at one, and so be in a condition to claim it in any enlarged degree. It might be so; for although we have broken our traditions, yet might an appeal to those of the Church, when it was yet one, set at rest what now agitates us. For the

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1. A Letter to the Right Rev. Father in God, Richard Lord Bishop of Oxford, on the Tendency to Romanism imputed to Doctrines held of Old, as now, in the English Church (London: 1840, 4th ed.), p.31. This letter is the best available brief statement of Pusey's theological system.
2. Cf. Ibid., p.44.

> present, sufficient for us, what has been bestowed in the period of her unity; the main articles of the faith have been fixed and guarded by her, and we possess them in her Creeds, and believe that the Church shall, by virtue of her Saviour's promise, preserve them to the end."[1]

At the same time there were those who did see the restored authority of the undivided Church as an important consequence of a reunited Christendom. In the main these were men who did not stand in the main stream of Tractarian thought. This was a motive that often acted upon the Wardian school of the early 1840's and the Papalists of the twentieth century. Of the former a reviewer in the British Critic - ostensibly describing Deacon Palmer's views - is a good example. Those who think like Palmer, believe, he said, "that infallibility resides in the universal episcopate, [and therefore] consider it one very principal and invaluable blessing which we might expect from our reunion with the Roman and Greek bodies, that we should thereby obtain once more an infallible guide in matters of faith."[2] Though Ward himself was not a conciliarist, he did hold a view of progressive revelation that could easily support a conception of living authority. In his view reunion with the Roman Church would have united the English Church with a body that boasted of many saints - and for him sanctity was the source of all

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1. Ibid., p.45.
2. "Church Authority," British Critic, LXV (Jan., 1843), p.207.

authority. But since he soon despaired of the likelihood of such action, this was not so much a reunionist motive as an incentive to personal submission.

There were a number of Anglo-Catholic ecumenists who, while not sharing the extreme views of the various papalist groups, were concerned with questions of dogmatic authority which influenced their reunionism. Such a concern is expressed in a charge on reunion delivered by Bishop Forbes. He describes the ecumenical movement of his day in the following way:

> "... the deepest thinkers of the day are stretching forth to a unity which shall comprehend all these scattered members. They feel that if the sixteenth century was one of dispersion, the nineteenth and the twentieth must be one of re-union, if the Son of Man, when He cometh, is to 'find the faith (as the original Greek is most correctly rendered) on the earth.'... And, as in the century preceding the Reformation, earnest men of all hues of opinion looked forward to the assembling of a General Council as the great cure of the evils of the day, so now may we not, laying to heart the great dangers we are in from our unhappy divisions, hope, and labour, and pray for the hour when the Church of God shall again come together in its glory and strength... when every question shall be calmly discussed, every claim candidly weighed - when misunderstandings shall be righted, logomachies explained - when love shall hold the balance, and the Word of God be arbiter - when the Holy Ghost shall be present, and Christ Himself, as 'our Peace,''shall send the rod of His power out of Zion,' and, drawing all hearts to Himself, 'will raise the tabernacle of David that is fallen, and close up the breaches thereof; and will raise up its ruins and build it as in the days of old.'"[1]

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1. Lee, Sermons, pp.261-262.

A similar motive was operative upon Halifax: "To acquiesce in divisions about religion is to acquiesce in what, to a greater or less degree, tends to the destruction of religion altogether; and there can be no greater duty imposed upon all who believe that God has made a revelation to man than to agree what that revelation is. It is the one condition upon which, in the long run, the maintenance of that revelation depends."[1] In Jones' rather interesting static papalism a similar concern is evident. In his Holy See he confesses that "for the last three and a half years my mind has been much disturbed on the question of the Church's position and authority, and certainly all the disputes and divisions among us, do not tend to reassure a mind that is perplexed."[2] He differed from Forbes and Halifax in that he sought the solution to this difficulty in the Papal claims, rather than in a conciliarism. Aylmer Hunter's discussion of the Anglo-Catholic attitude towards reunion with Rome in England's Awakening contains many references to the authoritarian motive. He begins by stating the assumption that Christianity is Truth, i.e., a body of dogma,[3] then interprets Christ's words, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world," as meaning

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1. From the Introduction to S. Jones, England and the Holy See (London: 1902, 2nd ed.), pp.xiii-xiv.
2. Holy See, p.205. Except when the second edition is indicated, all quotations from this book are taken from the first edition.
3. England's Awakening (New York: 1923), p.18.

that the united Church would always be preserved from false doctrine. Given these premises the conclusion quickly follows: "... since true authority can only proceed from unity - from the whole body... it follows that unity must be the paramount Catholic ideal."[1] In the divided state of the Church, God has therefore withdrawn his authority, "And yet we know His authority is there all the time, if only her members would join hands and receive it; for in unity alone is it to be found."[2] After defining unity in a conciliar way, he describes its working and significance:

> "One great universal reunited Church; one great international Moral Tribunal; One Faith, one Lord, one Baptism for all; one everliving voice of authority, explaining and expounding God's purposes with regard to the destinies of mankind!"[3]

But the real value of a reunited Church for these men - with the possible exception of Jones - was not so much the provision of a living tribunal that could interpret authoritatively, as it was the very witness to dogmatic solidarity that the act of reunion would provide. The Anglo-Catholicism of our period, with its static view of authority, could not be strongly motivated by an authoritarianism which rested upon the presuppositions of progressive revelation.

The intracommunal motive was usually negative. Defined

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1. Ibid., pp.21-22.
2. Ibid., p.24.
3. Ibid., p.84.

as the interest in maintaining the internal unity of the Anglican communion, it was usually most evident when that condition was threatened by schism or secession. This motive was influential in ecumenical matters whenever the approach to another Christian body might involve such consequences. In the Tractarian period this motive was evident at first in the concern lest the anticipated disestablishment should confuse the Church with Dissent and thus destroy the former's integrity. Recalling his reasons for participating in the Oxford Movement, William Palmer said: "I can sincerely say, that if there was one object more than another which we should have been happy to realize, it was the union of the Church."[1] To further this object the Association of Friends of the Church was formed: "We were anxious to impress on them, that the Church was more than a merely human institution; that it had privileges, sacraments, a ministry, ordained by Christ; that it was a matter of highest obligation to remain united to the Church."[2] Pusey expressed a similar concern in a letter written to R. W. Jelf in 1834:

> "A strong expression of love for the Church has been called forth by the violence of her enemies; a great union of parties among the clergy; numbers have withdrawn from the religious societies in which they used to act with Dissenters; and now that the Branch for Foreign Bibles is being

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1. Narrative, p.116.
2. Ibid., p.119.

> formed within the Christian Knowledge Society, I trust this occasion of confounding Churchmen with Dissenters and disuniting the Church will be removed."[1]

While the early Tractarians were worried about losing Evangelical churchmen to Dissent, the later Tractarians had a different problem - the possibility of numbers from their own ranks seceding to Rome. The ecumenical aspect of this concern was evident in the way the Tractarians attacked the Jerusalem Bishopric scheme because this seeming compromise of the Church position was unsettling a large number of the extreme men. Pusey's anxiety about these men is clearly evident in his letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury (1842), a large section of which discusses the Jerusalem Bishopric.

As the Anglo-Catholics became more numerous and powerful in the Church, this motive began to operate upon those who would willingly seek closer communion with non-episcopalians. To make the necessary concessions would undoubtedly drive a significant number of Anglo-Catholics to Rome, and the unity of Anglicanism was more important to them than an uncertain wider unity. And the Anglo-Catholics never let them forget this. In 1896 A. J. Mason wrote:

> "I know that highly revered English Churchmen have felt at liberty to receive communion from

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1. Liddon, Life, Vol. I, pp.285-286.

> ministers who had only Presbyterian ordinations. Many Churchmen might be far from sorry if the whole Church throughout the world could agree to permit either method of discipline indifferently. But in practice it is impossible. If the English Church in her corporate capacity were to enter into full communion with the Presbyterian Churches, it would not only cause disruption within the English Church itself; it would bar the way to any reunion with the as yet unreformed Churches of Christendom. The cost would be too great."[1]

Clayton's comment at the Anglo-Catholic Congress of 1920, that "it would be a sorry reunion which would create a new schism!" pressed this same point, as did Pullan's caution about the ecumenical movement on the mission field:

> "We hear some talk about union being first accomplished in the mission field. The other side to that is the probability that a new schism may be first accomplished in the mission field."[2]

The Lambeth Conferences were always keenly aware of this situation, and as a motive it acted, as I have suggested, in a primarily negative way, i.e., nothing must be done which might disrupt the peace of the Church.[3]

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1. The Principles of Ecclesiastical Unity (London: 1896), pp.99-100.
2. Missionary Principles and the Primate on Kikuyu (London: 1915), p.28. It is difficult to determine precisely what "schism" means in this context. Cf. Appendix C, p.559f.
3. There is a certain irony in Palmer's quotation from a Wardian writer in the British Critic who repudiates the legitimacy of this motive - though in his case he was thinking of reunion with Rome, not with non-episcopalians: "... on what single principle of scripture or tradition can the position be maintained, to meet the objectors on their own ground, that the unity of a national Church is the legitimate object of ultimate endeavor? Both Scripture and antiquity are clamorous and earnest indeed in favour of a

The evangelical motive - so closely associated with St. John 17:23 - was certainly not peculiar to Anglo-Catholic ecumenism. But it is sometimes forgotten that it was also important to them. In its usual form, i.e., a concern for the obstacle to the work of evangelism which Christendom's divisions have proved to be, references to it are numerous among Anglo-Catholic writers. Pusey's statement in Eirenicon III is representative:

> "Evil days and trial-times seem to be coming upon the earth. Faith deepens, but unbelief too becomes more thorough. Yet what might not God do to check it, if those who own One Lord and one faith were again at one, and united Christendom should go forth bound in one by love - the full flow of God's Holy Spirit unhemmed by any of those breaks or jars or manglings - to win all to His love Whom we all desire to love, to serve, to obey! To have removed one stumbling-block would be worth the labour of a life."[1]

This motive also took another form for Anglo-Catholics. They believed that by reasserting the Catholic character of the Church of England, either internally or by reunion with other Catholic churches, Nonconformists and Protestants generally could be won back to the Church. In The Churchman's Manual of 1833 the following question and answer appeared:

"[Q.] How should the members of the Church feel

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unity of the Church; but is the English Establishment the Church?" Quoted in Narrative (p.155) from British Critic, LIX, p.32.

1. Quoted from Is Healthful Reunion Impossible? A Second Letter to the Very Rev. J. H. Newman, D.D. (London: 1870), pp.341-343, in Liddon, Life, Vol. IV, p.185.

> and act towards those who divide the body of Christians by their sects and unauthorized teachers?
> A. They should be sorry for them, and pray to God to forgive them, and bring them to a better mind: and be very careful that they do not themselves afford any encouragement to the error: 'not counting them as enemies, but admonishing them as brethren.'"[1]

In 1838 Newman expressed the conviction that Protestants could only be saved from their connection with infidelity by the Church's example of uncompromising Catholicism:

> "... at this day, when the connexion of foreign Protestantism with infidelity is so evident, what claim has the former upon our sympathy? and to what theology can the serious Protestant, dissatisfied with his system, betake himself but to Romanism, unless we display our characteristic principles, and show him that he may be Catholic and Apostolic, yet not Roman?"[2]

And again:

> "Would that they [Protestants] would be taught that their peculiar form of religion, whatever it is, never can satisfy their souls, and does not admit of reform, but must come to nought! Would that they could be persuaded to transfer their misplaced and most unrequited affection from the systems of men to the One Holy Spouse of Christ, the Church Catholic, which in this country manifests herself in the Church commonly so called as her representative!"[3]

Palmer, who in many respects disagreed with Newman, was in full agreement with him on this:

> "It must always be unlawful for members of the

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1. Quoted in Brandreth, Oecumenical Ideals (p.61), from Perceval, Collection of Papers, p.58.
2. Lectures on the Prophetical Office of the Church (London: 1838), p.25.
3. Ibid., p.58.

> church to hold religious communion with those who have separated themselves from it. I mean that it must be unlawful to unite in their worship, or generally to perform any purely religious acts with them; though it is commendable in those brethren who are especially fitted for that office, to confer with the separated, in order, if possible, to convert them from the errors of their ways."[1]

In 1841 Pusey wrote to the same effect:

> "... how we may be employed [by God], when fitted, we cannot forsee and so should not forestall; it may be that our first office will be, not with Rome, but with those bodies which were separated from Rome at the same time as ourselves, but were not so signally blessed and preserved; it may be, that through us what is lacking in them to the full gifts of the Church might be supplied ... [and thus they will have been] won back to Primitive Faith and Discipline."[2]

When Pusey first heard about the Jerusalem Bishopric, he hoped that it might serve this end. In the sub-Tractarian period we find this same motive in an advertisement which appeared in Lee's Essays. It calls the reader's attention to a series called "The Church's Broken Unity," edited by W. J. E. Bennett, the purpose of which was to win back Dissent by the example of unity in Catholic principles in the Church of England:

> "... at the same time [it is intended] to arrest the attention of the better-disposed Dissenter, so that he may be encouraged to inquire whether to him also it be not a bounden duty to 'hear the Church,' now that she is again displaying

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1. Treatise on the Church of Christ (London: 1840, 3rd ed.), Vol. I, p.49.
2. Quoted from a letter to R. W. Jelf in Brandreth, Op. cit., p.19.

> her innate natural life...
> "They will aim at convincing Dissenters that now the Church of England is giving such evident proofs of her divine mission, there are no longer real grounds for perpetuating the schisms, of which, possibly, the past inactivity and indifference of the Church in previous generations had given rise;..."[1]

In the Preface to his translation of the Report of the Bonn Conference (1875), Liddon says of Nonconformity's resistence to the Church:

> "But, under all these forms, it has one answer ready at hand when it is invited to return to the Church's fold. It points triumphantly to the divisions by which the Church of England is herself separated... from other ancient Churches of Christendom... We reply that our separation from the rest of Catholic Christendom has been forced on us; but we are asked, why, if this is the case, we have not been more anxious for unity where it is still within our reach."[2]

If reunion with those represented at the Bonn Conferences could be attained, he suggests, that obstacle which prevents many such individuals from joining the Church would be removed:

> "Doubtless, many of them would, humanly speaking, under no circumstances whatever return to the communion of the Church. Yet there are among them numbers of religious men who would be touched and attracted by the felt presence of a new spirit of charity in English churchmen... In union with these Churches [Old Catholics and Orthodox], those who succeed

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1. Lee (ed.), Essays on the Reunion of Christendom (London: 1867), opposite p.310ff.
2. Report of the Proceedings of the Reunion Conference held at Bonn between the 10th and 16th of August, 1875 (London: 1876), p.xv.

> us may hope to conciliate some of the loving and devoted men who now stand aloof from us in England. God only knows whether such a blessing is reserved for His family; but it is at least sufficiently possible to enable English Churchmen to feel that, in seeking union with the Easterns and the Germans, they are not unmindful of those with whom they would thankfully be reunited in their own land."[1]

By the existential motive I mean that longing after union with a church or churches that will support, strengthen, and enrich a particular form of Christian life. With the Anglo-Catholics this motive drew them to Rome and the Eastern churches. It was often closely allied with controversial interests, in so far as reunion with Rome would have forever put down the claim that the English Church was Protestant, but it was much more than just this. The Tractarians, and then the Ritualists, idealized the medieval Church - a church which they believed to be best perpetuated and preserved in the Roman Communion (though some believed that the Eastern churches alone preserved that ancient character). They also developed a great admiration for post-Tridentine devotional writings, a large number of which they translated into English. It was only natural that they should be strongly motivated to reunion with that body. This, of course, was the whole point of Ward's Ideal. Of his ecumenical vision Wilfred Ward writes:

"Ward himself speaks in no doubtful terms of union

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1. Ibid., p.xvi.

> with Rome as the ideal vision which inspired him. 'Restoration of active communion with the Roman Church,' he writes to a friend in 1841, 'is the most enchanting earthly prospect on which my imagination can dwell.'... The love of Rome and of an united Christendom which marked the new school was not purely love for ecclesiastical authority. This was indeed one element; but there was another yet more influential in many minds, - admiration for the saints of the Roman Church, and for the saintly ideal as realised especially in the monastic life."[1]

Another member of the "new school," Oakeley, reveals a similar reason for his interest in Rome. After describing the strong romantic spirit of Oxford in those days, he asks:

> "... where is it but in the Catholic Church, her storied annals, her various devotions, her versatile institutions, her graceful and loving ceremonial, that romance finds its noblest field of investigation, and the love of the beautiful its most congenial sphere of exercise?"[2]

Dean Church describes these men and the source of their interest in Rome in the following terms:

> "The men who doubted about the English Church saw in Rome a strong, logical, consistent theory of religion, not of yesterday nor to-day - not only comprehensive and profound, but actually in full work, and fruitful in great results; and this in contrast to the alleged and undeniable anomalies and shortcomings of Protestantism and Anglicanism. And next, there was the immense amount which they saw in Rome of self-denial and self-devotion;... the resolute abandonment of the world and its attractions in the religious life... it was in Rome that, at that day at least, men must look for the heroic."[3]

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1. W. G. Ward, p.142.
2. Historical Notes, p.18.
3. Oxford Movement, p.294.

The point is so obvious that, though this motive was extremely important in relation to Anglo-Catholic ecumenical interest in other Catholic churches, we will not dwell longer upon it.

The strongest non-theological (in the systematic sense) motive for Anglo-Catholic ecumenists was unquestionably the apologetic one. It was imperative that the Church of England be recognized as Catholic. All ecumenical activity was measured by its effect upon this status. It was behind both their predominant interest in reunion with other Catholic churches and their caution about relations with Protestant communions. The early Tractarians had a firm belief in the catholicity of the English Church, but they feared that a certain element within that Church was undermining it. This, they believed, would destroy the Church if it were not checked, and, what is more, it would be disastrous to the nation for it would destroy the one force capable of checking the rising secular philosophies. They were unshaken in their conviction that their Church was Catholic - though, as many writers have pointed out, they too often confused the note of catholicity with that of apostolicity. In any event this was an internal matter, and, at most, simply an expression of the evangelical motive which we have already considered. But towards the end of the 1830's their confidence was shaken - largely by

well calculated Roman propaganda.[1] After that time their ecumenical attitude always reflected an acute consciousness of the Roman observer. This affected their ecumenical activity in two ways: (a) it made some very wary of doing anything that would jeopardize the possibility of reunion in that direction, or (b) it drove others to attempt to establish their catholicity and strengthen their anti-Roman position by approaching non-Roman Catholic bodies. Needless to say, these divergent views created some tension within the party.

The main attack by the Roman controversialists was directed against the rather loose way in which the term "catholic" was used by the Tractarians. However valid your claims for apostolic orders may be, they said, you do not, in your island isolation, fulfill the note of catholicity, or universality. They made the Tractarians keenly aware of their statistical disadvantage: what was

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1. As early as January, 1936, Newman's Tract 71 shows that the impact of the Roman Church was already felt by the Movement: "The controversy with the Romanists has overtaken us 'like a summer's cloud.' We find ourselves in various parts of the country preparing for it, yet, when we look back, we cannot trace the steps by which we arrived at our present position. We do not recollect what our feelings were at this time last year on the subject, - what was the state of our apprehensions and anticipatings. All we know is, that here we are, from long security ignorant why we are not Roman Catholics, and they on the other hand are said to be spreading and strengthening on all sides of us, vaunting their success, real or apparent, and taunting us with our inability to argue with them." "On the Controversy with the Romanists. Against Romanism - No. 1.", Tracts, Vol. III (London: 1836), p.1.

this little communion to challenge the right of the world-wide Roman Church? The Apologia reveals how important this question had become for Newman by the end of the '30's. "It is a fact," he quotes himself as having said at the time, "however we justify ourselves, that we are estranged from the great body of Christians over the world."[1] More than once he attempted to answer the question which he puts in the mouth of a Roman controversialist: "You do not communicate with any one Church besides your own and its offshoots, and you have discarded principles, doctrines, sacraments, and usages, which are and ever have been received in the East and West [therefore how can you call yourself Catholic?]."[2] The best answer Newman could give at this time was to say that the note of apostolicity, i.e., faithfulness to apostolic practice and faith, was equally important with that of catholicity (in the universal sense) and that the Church of England could not sacrifice the one to gain the other. But the question was unsettling many, as Newman admits in a British Critic article:

> "In a word, this isolation is doing as much as any one thing can do to unchurch us, and it and our awakening claims to be Catholic and Apostolic cannot long stand together. This then is the main difficulty which serious people feel in accepting the English Church

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1. Apologia, p.206.
2. Ibid., p.198.

as the promised prophet of truth..."[1]

In one sense, this feeling of isolation became less acute as the Anglo-Catholics developed a theology of unity that satisfied them concerning the status of their own Church. One cannot help but observe that a great deal of their ecumenical theology grew out of and was controlled by the necessity of vindicating Anglicanism's place within Catholic unity - rather than by the application of a systematic theology to the ecumenical situation. It was only a very few of the Wardians and extreme Anglican Papalists who ventured to propose a theory of unity which excluded the Anglican Church as an ordinary part of it. Nowhere is this process of moving from the status quo to a theory of unity which will account for the assumed and uncriticized fact that the Church of England is within the unity of the Catholic Church more evident than in Palmer's Treatise on the Church of Christ.

This, in essence, was what the branch theory attempted to do. And it had to do it with the one reasonably certain common denominator - the apostolic succession. No one suggested that Catholic unity consisted in that succession, but they did suggest that the mystical, sacramental character of the ecclesiological unity was dependent upon that condition. At least its security was, and that was to

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1. "Private Judgment," British Critic, LIX (July, 1841), p.123.

say the same thing, for to them the Church was the realm of security.[1] This, then, was the Tractarian answer to the Roman Catholics:

> "She [the Church of England] was the Catholic and Apostolic Church, ordained by Christ Himself, tracing back her authority to the Apostles through the laying on of hands, and keeping her sole gift the sacraments of baptism, and the eucharist, by which God's saving grace was conveyed to sinful man. She bore on her shoulders the weight of accumulated error; she was shackled by her subordination to the civil power; the purity of her doctrine had been sullied by the self-confident imaginations of the Reformers. Nevertheless she was still the Catholic and Apostolic Church, no vain creation of human fancy, but the daughter of God, the bride of Christ, the mother of souls."[2]

In contrasting the earlier with the later phases of the Oxford Movement, Samuel Hall describes the relationship between the branch theory and the Oxford Movement's controversial position:

> "Stated roughly, the earlier form of the Movement was a practical conservative attempt to defend the Established Church against certain threatened dangers, while the later form of the Movement, beginning with an attempt to establish some principle to which to appeal in the defense, developed mainly into an attempt to identify the Established Church of England as a branch or part of the Church Catholic."[3]

As a Roman Catholic, Newman thus describes the way in

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1. This is a generalization which must be qualified. There is a sense in which the piety of Pusey and other Tractarians was built upon insecurity, but this is not characteristic of later Anglo-Catholic thought. Cf., below, Ch. II.
2. Faber, Oxford Apostles, pp.321-322.
3. A Short History of the Oxford Movement (London: 1907), pp.129-130.

which at least some of the Tractarians and sub-Tractarians used the branch theory to justify the status quo "to their imagination":

> "... it is the view of men deeply impressed with the great doctrine and precept of Unity. Such men cannot bear to think of the enormous scandal, - the loss of faith, the triumph to infidels, the obstacle to heathen conversion, - resulting from the quarrels of Christians with each other; and they cannot rest till they can form some theory by which they can alleviate it to their imagination. They recollect our Lord's most touching words, just before His passion, in which he made unity the great note and badge of his religion; and they wish to be provided with some explanation of this apparent broad reversal of it, both for their own sake and that of others. As there are Protestants whose expedient for this purpose is to ignore all creeds and all forms of worship, and to make unity consist in a mere union of hearts, an intercourse of sentiment and work, and an agreeing to differ on theological points, so the persons in question attempt to discern the homogeneity of the Christian name in a paradoxical, compulsory resolution of the doctrines and rites of Rome, Greece, and Canterbury to some general form common to all three."[1]

But if this theory was to do any more than set their consciences at ease, it would have to be accepted by the other two branches. There was a certain amount of Anglo-Catholic ecumenical activity directed to this end. The exploits of Deacon Palmer represent the earliest and best known of such attempts. In fact, one of the reasons for the failure of Palmer's program, Shaw suggests, was that "It had been prompted by a devotion to a peculiar Theory

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1. Essays Critical and Historical (London: 1871), Vol. I, p.182.

rather than by love for Eastern Christendom, and ignored the facts of actual division."[1] Despite the A.P.U.C.'s denials - in the face of Roman criticism, - it had a very similar end in view, as did the numerous attempts to have Anglican orders validated by Rome or the East. Viscount Halifax's one condition for reunion was the unqualified recognition of Anglican orders. In 1882, W. J. E. Bennett wrote a book criticizing the Anglican practice of setting up churches on the Continent, i.e., within the jurisdiction of other "branches," with a clearly apologetic motive: "But observe, dear Roman Catholic brethren, the rule holds good on both sides. It is a sword which cuts both ways. It is not a pressure upon us, when we travel abroad, and not upon you, when you travel among us."[2] In 1894 the E.C.U. vigorously protested against the Archbishop of Dublin's proposal that bishops should be consecrated by the Anglicans for certain "reformed" congregations in Spain. Their grounds were that such action would violate the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Toledo [R.C.], and would therefore compromise the Anglican claim to catholicity.[3]

This attempt to convert the Roman and Eastern churches to the branch theory acted in another direction as well. The theory rested upon its advocates' ability to prove the

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1. Early Tractarians, p.176.
2. Foreign Churches in relation to the Anglican (London: 1882), p.229.
3. Cf. Roberts, English Church Union, pp.383-386.

catholicity of the Anglican Church. This made Anglo-Catholics extremely nervous about Anglican association with obviously un-Catholic bodies. This was the real reason for Tractarian opposition to the Jerusalem Bishopric. We can study that opposition as a typical example of the anxiety with which Anglo-Catholics watched a great deal of Anglican ecumenical activity during our period - an anxiety evident in petitions to the Lambeth Conferences, in controversy over proposed schemes of cooperation and federation with Protestant bodies such as that put forward by the Kikuyu Missionary Conference, and even in relation to the establishment of closer relationships with the Old Catholics and the Swedish Church. There were many good reasons for supporting the Jerusalem Bishopric.[1] All Anglo-Catholics did not oppose it. Some thought that the German Church could be converted through the bishopric, and others that it offered an opportunity for opening new avenues of intercourse with the Eastern Church - as, in fact, it did. On the other side there were some like Pusey whose primary concern - other than an anxiety about the negative

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1. In a letter to Sir Inglis, J. R. Hope lists some of these reasons: "... some valued the Bishopric chiefly as leading to the conversion of the Jews; others, as tending to the propagation of Protestantism generally throughout the East, without respect to the existing Churches. Others, again, as a means of union with those Churches; others, as a Protestant alliance against Rome; others, as a measure of political expediency which would tend to support our national influence in Syria." Quoted in Ornsby, Hope-Scott, Vol. I, p.292.

reaction of certain extremists within the party - was with what seemed to be an intrusion upon the jurisdiction of the Eastern Church. But the main reason for the impassioned opposition was apologetical. Newman himself put it concisely in the Apologia: "That Church [the Church of England] was not only forbidding any sympathy or concurrence with the Church of Rome [a reference to the controversy over his Tract XC], but it actually was courting intercommunion with Protestant Prussia and the heresy of the Orientals."[1] Moorman shares my belief that the main import of the controversy was apologetic: "This [the bishopric] had been fiercely attacked by the Tractarians on the grounds that it completely compromised the specific status of the Church of England as a 'branch' of the Catholic and Apostolic Church, a status to which the Lutheran Church, having lost the Apostolic succession, could advance no claim."[2] Shaw agrees that this was the primary motive: "... what really disturbed them was not so much the probable effect upon the Orthodox Communion, as the prospect of association with Lutheranism, and the implied affirmation thereby of the Protestantism of the Church of England."[3] This motive is everywhere evident in the literature of the controversy.[4]

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1. Apologia, p.248.
2. J. R. H. Moorman, A History of the Church in England (London: 1954), p.406.
3. Early Tractarians, p.139.
4. The following are typical examples. In a letter to his

The Romans themselves gave the Anglo-Catholics good cause to believe that if the English Church could rid itself of all association with Protestantism there would be real grounds for reunion - though one cannot help but feel that they did so with tongue in cheek. In 1841 Wiseman had said:

> "Let that Church [the Church of England], as a Church, detach itself from all other sectaries in its reasoning against us, let it avow disapprobation of their principles, let it be unanimous in its doctrines concerning tradition and Church authority... and then we will acknowledge its right to record a separate plea from the great body of Protestants, when the Catholic arraigns them together for a breach of religious unity."[1]

It was to meet this challenge that many Tractarian and sub-Tractarian ecumenists advocated self-purification as the most efficacious ecumenical program - though, of course, they envisaged the necessity of this procedure on both sides. Pusey often said that the only place at which the

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bishop, Newman said of the possible effect of the bishopric: "May I be allowed to say that I augur nothing but evil, if we in any respect prejudice our title to be a branch of the Apostolic Church?" Apologia, p.250. Concerning a letter he had written to the Bishop of London, Pusey said: "I wrote a respectful answer [to a letter in which the Movement's position had been criticized], urging the danger and risk of any negotiation with the heretical sects [the Monophysites had been recognized by certain missionaries], and of an heretical succession in Prussia." Liddon, Life, Vol. II, p.253. Of the project's influence on Ward his biographer said: "Then came the Jerusalem Bishopric, the project on the part of the Archbishop of Canterbury of combining with the Protestant Church of Prussia in the appointment of a Bishop of Jerusalem. This was the last and heaviest of the blows. The English Church was renouncing its claim to be a branch of the Catholic body. It was avowedly acting with Protestants as a Protestant Church." W. Ward, W. G. Ward, p.202.

1. Quoted in Brandreth, Oecumenical Ideals, p.26.

churches could come together was in the ancient undivided Church. They must return again to the purity of that age, a purity of which unity was a natural part. In this sense it can be said that there was a strong puritanism in their ecumenical theology.

But the vindication of the Anglican claim to be within the unity of the Catholic Church did not rest upon the vindication of the status quo alone. There were many Anglo-Catholic - eventually the majority, - who believed that their catholicity could best be ascertained by the extension of communion to other Christian bodies. The feeling of isolation was so strong that some sought reunion almost at any price. Though this longing for wider communion usually included all the Catholic churches, and eventually the non-episcopalians as well, there were those who felt that it should first be realized in a particular direction. Those whose interest lay with Rome often justified that interest by referring to the Western Patriarchate which would have to be reunited within itself before it could seek wider unity with the Eastern Patriarchates. Others felt that the English Church had more in common with the East, or that the East had best preserved the ancient faith. Similar feelings encouraged an interest in the Old Catholics after 1870. But common to them all was the awareness that such an extention of the Anglican communion would support its claims to

catholicity. In a letter to Newman, J. R. Hope says that some people were supporting the Jerusalem Bishopric for precisely this reason:

> "Of an intention existing variously in various minds to raise up a Catholicity of extent against the Catholicity of Rome, I have abundent evidence. Some would do it by extending our Catholicity to Protestants - others, by attracting to ours that of Eastern bodies who have any claim to it."[1]

Pusey feared this motive in those who were associated with the Bonn Conferences. In a letter to C. Williams, written in 1872, he had said of the E.C.U.: "They look upon every longing for unity as so much incense offered to them as the one true Church. So they answered the 'Old Catholics.'"[2] In a letter written to Newman in 1875 his suspicions were still strong. The Vatican Council had so frightened some people, he observed, that they were willing to make unwarranted concessions to the East to secure a unity in that direction - one such concession would be giving up the Filioque.[3] Writing to Newman the next year he repeated his charges: "... now that the Vatican Council seems to us generally to have shut the half-open door in our faces, there is a prominent feeling, 'Union at any cost'; and so, since the Greeks set their faces against

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1. Ornsby, J. R. Hope-Scott, Vol. I, p.305. However Brandreth does not feel that the motive of establishing a vast anti-Roman block was a strong one among the Tractarians. Cf. Oecumenical Ideals, p.28.
2. Liddon, Life, Vol. IV, p.294.
3. Ibid., p.297.

being in communion with those who retain the Filioque in the Creed, there is the disposition to abandon it."[1] Pusey's closest disciple, Liddon, was one of these.

But Pusey himself was not free from the charge of seeking reunion in order to vindicate the position of the Anglican Church. In 1839 he had written to Newman with the very clear suggestion that a closer association with the East would strengthen their position:

> "I only wish you had dwelt [in a British Critic article] more upon the case of the Greek Church; we make a poor appearance against the Roman communion, but practically the question with people will be, are we safe out of communion - not with the Catholic Church, but with Rome? Here, then, I think we might take refuge under the shadow of the Greek Church; people who might doubt whether we are not schismatical, on account of the smallness of our communion, and might have misgivings about ourselves, would feel that the language of the Fathers [about schismatics] would not apply, when it would cut off 90,000,000 in one Orthodox Church."[2]

And again, in a letter to B. Harrison written in 1840, Pusey discusses the possibility of extending communion to the East and thus vindicating Anglicanism's position:

> "It will come as a painful question to many, and to some a difficulty as to our Church (as they come to see the perfect unity of antiquity), why we are in communion with no other Church except our own sisters and daughters?
> "We cannot have communion with Rome; why should we not with the Orthodox Greek Church? ... Certainly one should have thought that

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1. Ibid., p.300.
2. Quoted in Ibid., Vol. II, p.152.

> those who have not conformed with Rome would, practically, be glad to be strengthened by intercourse with us, and to be countenanced by us."[1]

Though in these letters the emphasis is upon the East, Pusey envisaged a unity that would comprehend all three branches. In his third Eirenicon he first describes the original purpose of the earlier volumes, and then shows how the apologetic task easily related itself to the ecumenical one when he expanded that original conception:

> "I was writing no treatise on Christian unity or on the re-union of Christendom... I was but writing a defense of the English Church ... I could not point out our agreement on great matters of faith, without pointing out also what I believed to justify our state of isolation. I could not conscientiously dwell on the causes of isolation, without pointing to a gleam, which I hoped I saw beyond - a way in which I trusted that all Christendom might be united, on the basis of what all the Churches hold to be of faith, and which is primitive, apart from those things which, however widely held, are not 'de fide.' God, I hope, put into my heart to change what was begun, at the instance of others, as a mere defense, into suggestions of re-union."[2]

Very much the same motive is revealed in Gerard Sampson's interest in the East: "It will do much to get the Roman Church in its right place, and to take a more just measure of the importance of its claims, when we know that there are one hundred million members of the Eastern Church who are at least one with us in rejecting

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1. Ibid., p.149.
2. Eirenicon III, pp.6-7.

those doctrines which separate us, as it does them, from communion with the Roman Church."[1] And again: "It will be a surprise to many to find that the Eastern Church's vigourous opposition to these Roman Catholic doctrines, to which we attribute the divisions of Christendom, are as energetic, and more so, than our own, and for exactly the same reasons..."[2] In the Preface to the Bonn Conference Report Liddon gives similar reasons for approaching the Old Catholics:

> "The Old Catholics have felt and acted on those very motives of faith and conduct which justify, in an instructed conscience, the Anglican position before God and Christendom. Like the English Church the Old Catholics have been forced into separation from the Roman See by its unwarranted and ever advancing claims; and, in substance, their theological teaching and temper is that of our own best divines."[3]

Bishop Forbes had called Liddon's attention to this fact the year before. "Why did you not," he asked Liddon concerning his remarks on the 1874 conference, "show how remarkably the Old Catholic Movement furnishes a justification of the Anglican position?"[4]

Whereas much of the Anglo-Catholic ecumenical activity, especially in the sub-Tractarian period, was motivated by this strong desire to justify their own views of the Anglican Church, it would be misleading to suggest

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1. Catholic Truth and Unity (London: 1914), p.21.
2. Ibid., pp.28-29.
3. Bonn Report, pp.xlvii-xlviii.
4. Quoted in Ibid., p.xlviii.

that this apologetic necessity provides the most important clue to an understanding of their position. While it often determined the precise form and direction that their arguments took, and put an unquestionably Anglican mark upon an ecumenical theology which in some respects was a departure from traditional Anglican thought, it was not this that gave life and strength to their ecumenism. One cannot explain the phenomenon of the Catholic Revival within the Church of England in such superficial terms as these; nor can these motives account for their ecumenical theology. If one can rightly call the logical development of philosophical and theological presuppositions a motive, then this was the strongest motive. Their ecumenical theology was a logical development of a particular world view and ecclesiology, a philosophy of religion embedded in the forms of the Church. It is to the investigation of the relationships between these elements that the following chapters are devoted. The second chapter will consider the relationship between the Anglo-Catholic world view, as it developed in our period, and their doctrine of the Church's essential unity. The third, fourth, and fifth chapters will deal with the dogmatic, structural, and sacramental forms that constitute the Church's visible expression of that unity.

Chapter II: The Essential Unity

Any attempt to understand Anglo-Catholic ecumenical theology in the first two decades of the twentieth century must begin with a consideration of the religious philosophy upon which it depended. During our period this philosophy passed through three stages of development. Formulated in the Tractarian period, it was unquestioned but more variously applied in the sub-Tractarian era. Towards the end of the century, when the Liberal Catholics revived the intellectual ferment which had been lost since Tractarian days, it was given new direction and relevance. The Movement's way of looking at man and the world, and the relation of both to God, influenced its conception of that essential unity which is the wholeness of God and his universe. Because the Tractarians, and to some extent their heirs, exalted "mystery" and considered an irrational approach to the subject virtuous, there is little systematic treatment of it available. But since any theology of the unity of the Church must depend upon a particular understanding of this essential unity, it is necessary for us to consider those aspects of Anglo-Catholic thought which most directly reflect themselves in the Movement's ecumenical theology. We will consider three. The first is their understanding of salvation. The second is their understanding of the relationship between man, nature, and revelation. And the third is their understanding

of the relationship between the essential unity and the visible forms of the Church.

I

However much and however rightly the Oxford Movement is identified with the revival of the idea of the Church, its soteriology, like that of the Evangelicals, was highly individualistic. It was to this fact that C. B. Mortlock testified indirectly, when, on the occasion of the Movement's centenary, he observed that "it would be a mistake to suppose that the Movement in its origin was narrowly ecclesiastical," because, "At the heart of it was a call to holiness," and, "Its aim was a renewal of religion."[1] Dean Church, a participant in the later phases of the Movement and its greatest historian, also believed that a moral and ethical concern was the most important characteristic of the Movement. Referring to an early sermon of Newman's, he says: "A passionate and sustained earnestness after a high moral rule, seriously realized in conduct, is the dominant character of these sermons... Out of this ground the movement grew."[2] And Newman, more than any other man, shaped the religious ideas of the Movement. But he was not alone. One cannot

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1. The People's Book of the Oxford Movement (London: 1933), p.13.
2. R. W. Church, The Oxford Movement. Twelve Years, 1833-1845 (London: 1891), p.19.

read the sermons of Pusey, or the Remains of Froude, or the vast quantity of devotional literature written or translated by disciples of the Movement, without being overwhelmed by the emphasis upon personal religious discipline.[1]

While an emphasis upon individual moral discipline need not at the same time be essentially individualistic, there is no question but that for the Tractarians it was so. In speaking of Calvin's influence upon his early life, Newman said that it had the effect of impressing him with his isolation "from the objects which surround me," and "confirming me in my mistrust of the reality of material phenomena, and making me rest in the thought of two and two only supreme and luminously self-evident beings, myself and my Creator."[2] And again, in recalling his conversion experience at the age of fifteen, this feeling is

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1. Brilioth believes that Evangelical influences were in part responsible for this. "It [the Oxford Movement] is a profoundly and entirely religious movement. It kindles the 'enthusiasm' which was excommunicated in the old [High Church] system, and it wakes to life an intense need of devotion and a thirst for holiness, which makes it worthy of a high place in the history of religion, whatever one may say of its Church conception. It is in this, it seems to me, that we have a right to see in Neo-Anglicanism the heir of Evangelicalism." Anglican Revival, p.42. And, "This is particularly the case with intensive application to the individual of the awful and gracious reality of the religious life, and the requirement of conversion, definite personal decision [etc.]..." Ibid., p.225. Also Cf. Brilioth, Three Lectures on Evangelicalism and the Oxford Movement (Oxford: 1934).
2. Apologia, p.59.

connected with his own election: "I received it at once, and I believe that the inward conversion of which I was conscious (and of which I am still more certain than that I have hands and feet), would last into the next life, and that I was elected to eternal glory."[1] The idea is perhaps nowhere so clearly stated as in an Anglican sermon of Newman's, appropriately entitled "The Individuality of the Soul." After describing a town street busy with people, he poses, and answers, this question:

> "But what is the truth? Why, that every being in that great concourse is his own centre, and all things about him are but shades... No one outside of him can really touch him, can touch his soul, his immortality; he must live with himself for ever. He has a depth within him unfathomable, an infinite abyss of existence; and the scene, in which he bears part for the moment, is but like a gleam of sunshine upon its surface. [We read in history how multitudes of men have been killed in various ways, but] we cannot understand that a multitude is a collection of immortal souls, all those millions upon millions of human beings who ever trod the earth and saw the sun successively, are at this very moment in existence all together."[2]

Pusey's religion, like Newman's, was primarily introspective and individualistic. His entrance to the Movement was heralded by the publication of a Tract quite unlike anything that had appeared in the Tracts for the Times before - the title was "Thoughts on the Benefits of Fasting." He introduced personal disciplines,

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1. Ibid., p.59.
2. Quoted in Brilioth, Anglican Revival (pp.225-226), from Parochial and Plain Sermons, Vol. IV, p.6.

devotional materials (often taken from post-Tridentine Roman sources), and an example of the saintly life into the Revival.[1] The development of the "inner life" was the criterion by which all ecclesiastical and doctrinal matters were measured. At the same time Pusey was extremely suspicious of the more "external" emphases in later Anglo-Catholicism. He believed that many things upon which the Ritualists often seemed willing to stake their very existence within the Anglican Church [2] were only optional parts of the Christian life. Arbitrary external measures could not be imposed upon the individual soul.

Commenting upon this paradoxical co-existence of a strong ecclesiology and an individualistic piety, Brilioth observes that "It cannot be a unique phenomenon that the champions of authority in private are the greatest individualists."[3]

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1. Besides these qualities and contributions to the Movement's religious life, Pusey brought to it the status of the Regius Professorship of Hebrew and considerable family connections. Newman believed that his public support of the Movement saved it from an early death. Palmer thus describes his contribution to the Movement at this time: "His high religious character, his learning, and the station which he occupied in the University as Professor of Hebrew, together with his aristocratic connexion with the Earls of Radnor, rendered him an acquisition of the highest value to the Tractarian party, which about this time became highly organized, and the members of which moved in a phalanx, as one man." Narrative, p.59.
2. Such things, for example, as the right to adopt certain ceremonial forms, daily celebrations of the Eucharist, and oracular confession.
3. Anglican Revival, p.57.

The personal view of religion carried with it an individualistic soteriology - "the overwhelming feeling of the one thing necessary, the salvation of the soul."[1] In a sermon preached in 1842 Newman went so far as to say that prayer for personal salvation should take precedence over prayer for the peace and unity of the whole body of the Church: "Let the peace of Jerusalem and the edification of the Body of Christ be an object of prayer, close upon that of your own personal salvation."[2] The implications of this individualistic soteriology are evident in Newman's inability to appreciate the social application of Christian principles. As G. Faber has said, "His interest in the lower orders was confined to their souls," and, "Poverty and subjection are, it is well known, good for the soul."[3] The soteriology outlined by Pusey in his letter to the Bishop of Oxford is much the same. Baptism brings each recipient into the state of salvation, but after that it is his responsibility to "work out his own salvation with fear and trembling."[4] The nourishment of the baptismal gift is the responsibility of the individual. This was his definition of the religious life. Any doctrine of assurance, whether it be the ecclesiastical

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1. Ibid., p.211.
2. Quoted in Ibid. (p.170), from "Saintliness not forfeited by the Penitent," Sermons on Subjects for the Day.
3. Oxford Apostles, p.243.
4. Letter to Oxford, p.82.

one of Rome or the subjective one of ultra-Protestantism, destroyed the necessary balance between grace and personal responsibility and, "The penitent, untimely delivered from his distress, loses the energy of repentence, and the hatred of sin, which God was annealing into his soul, and becomes a common-place and a sickly Christian."[1] Save as the baptismal agent, Pusey saw no essential relationship between the Church and the individual's salvation.[2] This fundamental distinction between soteriology and ecclesiology was an extremely important element in the development of an ecumenical theology within Anglo-Catholicism.

W. G. Ward carried this individualism to the center of his religious system. For him the only possible foundation upon which Christian life could be built was "careful and individual moral discipline."[3] Wilfred Ward believed, quite correctly, that this idea was fundamental to the position advocated by Ward in the Ideal: "First of all we are reminded of the one ultimate aim presupposed in all real religion - personal sanctification and salvation." The function of the Church "consists simply and solely in the

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1. Ibid., p.96.
2. The distinction between conditions which are indispensable to the very being or essence of a thing and conditions which are only indispensable on a secondary or derivative level is usually made, in this Thesis, by using the term "essential" to indicate the former and "necessary" to indicate the latter.
3. The Ideal of a Christian Church (London: 1844), p.vi.

work of individual sanctification and salvation."[1] But a movement to revive the idea of the Church must find some significant, if not essential, relationship between that body, as it is visible among us, and individual salvation. For Ward this relationship was conservative; the Church maintains and protects the discipline necessary to personal religious development - a "home in which this moral reality may have a secure rest and lodgement, that it may be dispensed to men according to their needs."[2]

Despite this individualism, the Tractarians did accept certain social implications of their ecclesiology. In the third Tract Newman says that "to believe in Christ is not a mere opinion or a secret conviction, but a social or even a political principle."[3] By this he meant that Christians were bound by the will of Christ to come together in the Church, where, in the testimony of its long history and constant faith, in its discipline and in its sacraments, they would find the sure way to salvation. There was nevertheless a clear distinction between those elected to salvation and this visible body. It is obvious

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1. W. G. Ward, pp.249-250. Due to its publication in the heat of controversy, the true significance of the Ideal as a distinct contribution to the philosophy of religion was largely lost. Attacks were simply directed at certain phrases which showed too great an admiration of things Roman and too little for things Anglican.
2. Ideal, p.258.
3. Tracts for the Times, Vol. I (London: 1834), p.5.

that the visible Church was little more than a collection of individuals on the way to salvation.

This was true of Tractarian thought generally: the visible Church was essentially distinct from the object of personal salvation - reunification with God. It was the guide, the teacher, the means to that end. Ward believed, as we shall see, that the conscience alone partook of the elemental nature of divinity. E. A. Knox attempts to put this in social terms:

> "Conscience [for Ward], however, is not the conscience of the individual - setting himself up in the place of God - but conscience embodied in a living Church, which strives to save the souls committed to its charge, cares for the poor, educates its members on teaching based on deep dogmatic theology, and above all lays itself out to produce and to train saints. The duty of the individual is to receive the teaching of this Church with reverence and submission."[1]

Despite Knox's attempt to soften it, Ward's individualism is evident even in this description. In the Preface to the Ideal the matter is put more clearly. Natural man, Ward said, seeks God through response to his conscience, but it is difficult for him to know the way. He seeks direction, and finds it in the Church:

> "The Church is, in matter of fact, our great divinely appointed guide unto saving truth, under Divine grace... The Church is prac-

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1. The Tractarian Movement, 1833-1845 (London: 1933), p.320. This is a deceptive statement of Ward's position. The Church's conscience was, for him, simply the aggregate conscience of its saints.

> tically 'the pillar and ground of the truth,' an informant given to all people... [it is] God's ordained teacher in the way to heaven."[1]

Part of its job is the instruction of the individual concerning that which is beyond itself:

> "... 'high and low, rich and poor, one with another,' shall have the great principle daily and hourly impressed on their minds by the Church, of their soul's salvation being the one thing needful; and shall be guided, encouraged, cheered, helped, and protected in the way to that salvation. Such is the form with which we should expect and desire to see the Church invested, if she is to perform those very functions for which she was given;..."[2]

The Church's only authority rests in its character as the producer and home of saints - no more: "Conscience alone can guide us aright," and the Church is simply a school in which "to practice and foster it."[3]

As a rule the early Tractarians would not go thus far, but they held the same general view of the relationship between the visible Church and the ultimate end of the religious life. According to Newman the Church was "something outward as a guide to what is inward, something visible as a guide to what is spiritual."[4] Like Ward, he believed that the Church must have the means for producing saints. Though Newman believed that the English

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1. Ideal, pp.9-10.
2. Ibid., p.10.
3. Ibid., p.280.
4. Quoted in Brilioth, Anglican Revival (p.265), from "The Community of Saints," Parochial and Plain Sermons, Vol. IV, No.11, p.172.

Church possessed the external means - the true faith, sacraments, and orders - it failed to hold him because it did not seem to apply them to this primary end - personal sanctification. He, like others who "went over" to Rome, came to believe that that Church alone was sufficiently conscious of this obligation. Some Anglo-Catholics have been sensitive to this criticism ever since.[1] The Apologia recalls the pronounced development of this idea of the Church during Newman's last Anglican years. Together with the external notes of succession and creed, he believed "the note of holiness of life" to be equally important in securing the place of a Christian body within the One, Catholic, and Apostolic Church.[2] The distinction between this function and its object is made clear in an Anglican sermon:

> "The heavenly Jerusalem, the mother of our new birth, is in all lands at once, fully and entirely as a spirit; in the East and in the West, in the North and in the South, that is, wherever her outward instruments are to be

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1. Cf. Morse-Boycott, They Shine Like Stars. This whole book is a vindication of the Anglican claim to be able to produce a "Religious Life" - against Roman criticism to the contrary: "I am not exaggerating, because it used to be one of the Roman Catholic arguments against the Catholicity of the Anglican Church that it did not, because it could not, produce the Religious Life, an argument which time has answered, and of which we hear no more." p.129. This is also a common objective of the numerous popular histories of the Movement which came out around the turn of the century and on the occasion of its centenary in 1933.
2. Apologia, p.263.

> found. The Ministry and Sacraments, and the bodily presence of Bishop and people, are given as keys and spells by which we bring ourselves into the presence of the great company of saints; they are as much as this, but they are no more; they are not identical with that company; they are but the outskirts of it; they are but the porches to the pool of Bethesda, entrance into that which is indivisible and one."[1]

Though this separation of the visible Church from the soteriological object was in part motivated by an anxiety to justify the isolated position in which Anglicans found themselves, it did follow naturally from their individualistic piety. Individualism coupled with a neo-platonic world view could not conceive of a genuine religious unity below that of the Godhead. In his letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury Pusey made this very point:

> "We were not tempted then to look for any thing but that invisible Unity, which we trust all the now-severed Communions have in their One Head, in Whom they all live, from Whom, though torn among themselves, we trust they are not rent. We dwelt alone, our island-situation a type of our Church, and were content, because there seemed no opening for any thing beyond."[2]

Pusey is here speaking about the Anglican position in the past, before the Roman Church resumed extensive propaganda activities in Britain, but it nevertheless represented the principal emphasis of the position he held throughout his

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1. Quoted in Brilioth, Anglican Revival (p.265), from "The Communion of Saints," Parochial and Plain Sermons, Vol. IV, No. 11, p.172.
2. Letter to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury (Oxford and London: 1842), p.20.

life. This invisible unity was the realm of salvation for which the visible Church prepared its individual members.

But as sacramental theology began to take a more prominent place than personal piety in Anglo-Catholicism, the absolute distinction between the visible Church and the essential unity of the saved in God was not so clear - though the separation of soteriology and ecclesiology remained. The Church was, in some sense, a part of the essential unity. It was not only the sacrament-bearer, it was, in the words of H. E. Manning, "like a sacrament" itself.[1] Even among the Tractarians there was sometimes a tendency not to distinguish too clearly between the Church as means or sacrament-bearer and the Church as a sacramental organism in itself. In Faber's words:

> "The Church was the divinely established means of Grace. But she was something else and something greater. She was the continuing dwelling place of God's spirit upon earth, and as such she had owing to her all the honour and glory within the power of men to pay."[2]

Brilioth believed that this idea anticipated and made possible the later Anglo-Catholic doctrine of the Church as the extension of the Incarnation.[3] Despite this

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1. Quoted in Brilioth, Anglican Revival (p.264), from Sermons, Vol. I (7th ed., London: 1848), p.334.
2. Oxford Apostles, pp.324-325.
3. "The Church not merely gets indirectly its share of the reverence with which its sacramental acts are surrounded, but receives a sacramental nature itself. The society

tendency, it is generally true that the Tractarians held an individualistic soteriology and a view of the Church as an agent, but not an integral part, of the essential unity of the saved in God.

This personal soteriological emphasis continued during the sub-Tractarian period; though by the early twentieth century it was largely replaced by the more socially oriented theology of the Lux Mundi school.[1] This theology was quite different in spirit from that of Tractarianism, yet the group of young Oxford men who wrote Lux Mundi claimed to be the legitimate heirs of that Movement. They appealed to the new generation of Anglo-Catholics who simply assumed that the English Church was Catholic.[2]

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itself becomes, as the mystical Body of Christ, the vehicle for the influx of Grace." Anglican Revival, p.327.
1. There was very little theological development in Anglo-Catholicism between the close of the Tractarian period in 1845 and the publication of Lux Mundi in 1889. One reason for this was the inflexible attitude of Pusey who remained the great symbol of the Catholic Revival till his death in 1882. The fact that they were engaged in a heated battle to establish their very right to remain within the Anglican Church also gave them little time for theological speculation. A third reason lay in the fact that the Ritualistic tangent had little interest in creative theology. Fourthly, and perhaps most important, they were bound by the tremendous force of a static historical and theological theory - only a mighty effort could break them loose from it. Lux Mundi was such an effort.
2. Roman Catholic Fr Woodlock, in his reply to an address of Gore's, gives his explanation of that development: "If a present-day extreme 'Anglo-Catholic' carefully confines his worship to churches of the type now fairly common - though once unknown - in the Establishment, where High Mass with incense, the preaching of the Seven Sacraments, the practice of Reservation, and the hearing of Confessions all speak of Catholic ritual and belief; if he confines his

In the first few decades of the twentieth century this theology dominated Anglo-Catholicism, having, at the same time, a powerful influence upon Anglican ecumenical thinking generally.

Liberal Catholicism rejected the Tractarian ecclesiology for a position that regarded the Church as a corporate organism essentially continuous with the Incarnation, and directly related to the unity of the Godhead. Since the Church was a corporate entity, the sacramental and, for the Anglo-Catholic, soteriological relationship between man and God also became corporate. E. J. Bicknell's Theological Introduction to the Thirty-Nine Articles is a classic exposition of this view. The Church in the New Testament was a visible society, he said, but it believed that its "nature and existence were based on invisible realities," and not simply the convergence of individual wills.[1] This visible society was in a real sense bound up in the nature of Christ himself: "If He is the Messiah, the anointed King, the Lord, the final Priest and Sacrifice, the shepherd, the Bridegroom, the new Adam, then there must be corresponding to Him a

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religious newspaper reading to the columns of the Church Times, where the reiterated use of the words 'we Catholics' seems almost 'to protest too much,' it is not impossible for him to take the Catholicity of his Church for granted." F. Woodlock, Constantinople, Canterbury, and Rome (London: 1923), pp.64-65.

1. A Theological Introduction to the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England (3rd ed., London: 1955), p.231.

people, an ecclesia, a flock, a bride, and a new race, created through Him and for Him as the divinely willed end of His coming."[1] Christianity could not be purely "spiritual": "A purely spiritual life, if it were conceivable for a man would be a life of isolation." The sacramental principle makes this impossible:

> "The very nature of Christian sacraments emphasizes the social side of all true religion. They are 'a divine provision against spiritual individualism.' Their form is that of ceremonies only possible among members of a society. They remind us that religion includes not only our relation to God but our relation to our brethren. While corporate religion cannot exist without sacraments of some kind, the Christian sacraments are peculiarly expressive of this common life, and, indeed, demand it. A purely individual religion may be most spiritual, but it is not the religion of Jesus Christ."[2]

In considering the sacraments, he gives the Tractarian view - "it [the Church] received from Christ two sacramental rites, baptism and the eucharist, to be acts of the society" - but he makes an important addendum, they are "also to be Christ's acts in it."[3] If this be the case, his soteriology must be essentially related to this organism, not simply to something beyond it: "If sacraments are corporate acts it must be true that outward unity and inward life cannot but be closely related."[4]

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1. Ibid., p.232.
2. Ibid., pp.356-357.
3. Ibid., p.233.
4. Ibid., p.236.

"It is," said H. H. Kelly, "a unity of life, or organic relation, of vital function."[1]

The source of this new theology, Lux Mundi, is the best exposition of it. J. R. Illingworth, in an essay entitled "The Incarnation and Development," begins by questioning the very term "soteriology." Implying that it is only concerned with the salvation of the individual, he found a preoccupation with it an inadequate interpretation of the Gospel. "The Reformers," he says, "were so occupied with what is now called Soteriology, or the scheme of salvation, that they paid but scant attention to the other aspects of the Gospel."[2] He connects soteriology with the doctrine of atonement, and then distinguishes both from the doctrine of Incarnation. At the Reformation "the religion of the Incarnation was narrowed into the religion of the Atonement."[3] The early Church Fathers, quite to the contrary, realized that redemption itself was only a means to a greater end; "the reconsecration of the whole universe to God," the gathering "together all things in one."[4]

Walter Lock, writing in the same volume on "The Church," repeats the idea of the dual relationship implicit in Christianity: "Religion is, almost universally, the link

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1. The Church and Religious Unity (London: 1913), p.60.
2. C. Gore (ed.), Lux Mundi (10th ed., London: 1890), p.183.
3. Ibid., p.183, underlining mine.
4. Ibid.

which binds man to man, no less than that which binds man to a Power above him."[1] In the Old Testament, he points out, the organic conception of the chosen people was so strong that the nation was referred to in terms applicable to an individual. Israel was "spoken of as a personal unity,""It is called 'God's Son,' His 'first-born Son,' 'Jehovah's servant.'"[2] This conception of the corporate individual reinforced the idea of limitation, which was characteristic of Liberal Catholic thought, and underlined their subordination of soteriology to the ultimate and greater purposes of the Incarnation: "It is the principle that God works by 'limitation,' by apparent 'exclusiveness,' by that which is in its essence 'sacerdotalism'; the principle that God does not give His gifts equally to all, but specially to a few, that they may use them for the good of the whole."[3] Lock did not relate this idea to the Biblical history however. The Church seemed, in one sense, to represent the very opposite principle: "the Jewish nation is expanded into an universal brotherhood; this includes all men, without any distinction of race."[4] The only application of the principle in relation to the Church was to the saints within the greater body.[5]

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1. Ibid., p.366.
2. Ibid., p.368.
3. Ibid., p.369.
4. Ibid., p.371.
5. Lock does not entirely free himself from the earlier view of the Church, which he at one place calls "a nursery,

In Gore's contribution to the volume, an essay entitled "The Holy Spirit and Inspiration," these ideas are drawn together. Redemption is understood in terms of the whole race, and beyond that, the whole cosmos; and the principle of limitation is the central idea of his ecclesiology. Gore's biographer says that "To the end of his life he was insistent on the principle that God works through minorities," and, in fact, "To have found himself in a majority might well have caused him both discomfort and misgiving."[1] At the beginning of his controversial career this idea was already evident. After having discussed the original character of human nature and the effect of sin upon it, Gore goes on to say that,

> "the work of redemption is only the reconstitution of the nature which God designed. It is the recovery within the limits of a chosen race and by a deliberate process of limitation, of a state of things which had been intended to be universal. The 'elect' represent not the special purpose of God for a few, but the universal purpose which under the circumstances can only be realized through a few. The hedging in of the few, the drawing of the lines so close, the method of exclusion again and again renewed all down the history of redemption, represents the love of the Divine Spirit ever baffled in the mass, preserving the truth of God in a 'remnant,' an elect body; who themselves escaping the corruption which is in the world, become in their turn a fresh centre from which the restorative influence can flow out upon mankind."[2]

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a school, a home." Ibid., p.375.
1. Gore, p.20.
2. Op. cit., p.320.

This principle explained the Biblical history. God first chose the Jews, the nation, who in their disobedience frustrated His purposes. Then "He falls back upon the faithful remnant, and keeps alive in them that prospective sonship which was meant to be the vocation of the whole nation: sometimes in narrower, sometimes in broader channels, the purpose of love moves on till the Spirit finds in the Son of Man, the Anointed One, the perfect realization of the destiny of man, the manhood in which he can freely and fully work."[1] Unlike Israel, His life was one of obedience; and in that obedience His became the accepted sacrifice; He prepared the body for the Spirit's habitation. Through the Spirit, the elect body which had come to be limited to this one man, was able to receive new life, and expand to fulfil God's original plan. The Church was thus "the centre marked out and hedged in whence ever and again proceeds forth anew the work of human recovery; the home where, in spite of sin and imperfection, is ever kept alive the picture of what the Christian life is, that is, of what common human life is meant to be and can become."[2] The Spirit is the vitalizing principle which makes continuous the unity of the Godhead with the visible order. The Church, participating in the object of that redemptive work as well as being its agent, has a necessary

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid., p.322.

relationship to the essential unity.

Though T. A. Lacey did his earliest thinking independently of the Lux Mundi school,[1] by the second decade of the century he had adopted many of its principal ideas and stood well within its general theological framework. He too had moved away from the Tractarian idea of the Church simply as sacrament-bearer, to the understanding of it as a sacramental organism. "The real unity of the Church," he said in 1917, "is sacramental. I do not mean that it stands in this or that sacrament. The Church itself is the sacramentum unitatis."[2] Therefore all consideration of the Church, or of the individual, must begin with the universal, the whole, and work back to the particular. The individual can only be understood in that context. We have moved a long way from the view that the primary consideration is the salvation of the individual soul. Lacey developed the principle of limitation, as applied to the history of redemption, even beyond Gore, and in the same way the idea of corporate personality was used to universalize what appears to be the particular.

The early Church, said Lacey, considered itself to be the New Israel. It connected this idea with that of the

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1. Lacey's The Unity of the Church as treated by the English Theologians (London: 1898) shows strong Tractarian influences, especially on the level of practical ecumenics. Its primary arguments and general thought patterns are not Tractarian, however.
2. Unity and Schism (London: 1917), pp.156-157.

remnant: "It is a doctrine of continuous narrowing; there is always a falling away, but always a remnant which stands firm, to continue the holy seed."[1] St. Paul applied this idea in his Christology:

> "St. Paul carries the doctrine of the Remnant further. The Jews were the seed of Abraham, to which the promise was made. But no, he says, their claim must be disallowed. With daring treatment of a text, he insists on the singularity of the seed; the one Christ is the Seed to which the promise was made. 'He saith not, and to seeds, as of many, but as of one; and to the seed, which is Christ.' So the remnant is reduced to one."[2]

From this corporate singular grows the new Israel: "Jesus bearing witness before Caiaphas, Jesus derelict upon the Cross, is the Faithful Remnant." And, "From Him begins the new expansion of the people of God."[3] Furthermore this remnant "is growing to a great multitude."[4] Since it partakes of the nature of Israel in the redemptive scheme, it, like Israel, must be a corporate unity.

Frank Weston carried the idea of corporate redemption even further than most Liberal Catholics:

> "Faith is not an individualistic link between an isolated soul and an isolated Saviour. Faith is corporate vision; vision of the Son of Mary who is God; of mankind in Jesus; vision of God in His mystical Body; vision of Fatherhood;

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1. Ibid., p.9.
2. Ibid., p.11.
3. Ibid., p.12.
4. Ibid., p.20.

> vision of the Eternal Beauty hereafter to be revealed in a redeemed, united universe."[1]

Humanity can only fulfil the purpose of the atonement as a fellowship - "all we mean by personal salvation is merely the first step towards the unification of the individual with the brotherhood and the common Father."[2] The scheme of redemption was cosmic, not personal. All the created order will be at one with God, and man will only be one part of the whole. Christ did not come simply for the redemption of mankind: "Nor is there any single creature, or method of creation, that is not embraced within God's original plan for unity."[3] The Church has a necessary role in this work of atonement: "Since God's work is not the salvation of individuals as individuals, but the restoration of the individual to the unity in which He and His are one, it follows that the continuous success of His work, however small, involves the continuance down the ages of the visible Church."[4]

With this strong emphasis upon a visible, corporate society in the redemptive scheme one might have expected these men to say that outside the visible Church there is no salvation. In point of fact, the Tractarians came much closer to saying this than did the Liberal Catholics.

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1. The Fulness of Christ (London: 1916), p.46.
2. Ibid., p.28.
3. Ibid., p.78.
4. Ibid., p.106.

For all Weston's emphasis upon the unity of the visible society, he was not willing to identify this unity with a particular organization. In part this reluctance sprang from the apologetic necessity of dealing with the Roman argument that organizational unity was essential, but the persistent Anglo-Catholic assertion of the reality of salvation extra ecclesiam has deeper roots than this. In the first place, there was the weight of Catholic tradition and the Liberal Catholic principle of limitation - of the few existing for the many. Beyond this, it was a conclusion that naturally followed from the separation of ecclesiology and the work of atonement from soteriology.

We have thus far considered developments within Anglo-Catholicism that touch upon the soteriological relationship between Christians. For the Tractarian and those who perpetuated his views in the later periods, the relationship between individuals had little bearing upon their relationship to God. The Liberal Catholics, on the other hand, emphasized the corporate character of redemption. In both cases, however, soteriology and ecclesiology were clearly distinguished. The reasons for and importance of this distinction will become evident.

II

The Anglo-Catholic world view was dominated by two ideas: (a) the belief that there is an essential relationship between material and spiritual realities, and (b) the

concept of indwelling. There were, however, important distinctions between the way in which these ideas were used by the Tractarians, with their individualism, and the Liberal Catholics, with their more corporate and cosmic system. The Tractarians were strongly influenced by Romanticism in their understanding of the material world. Nature was a sacramental reality, a mystery, that shrouded and yet revealed, for those who held its key, the ultimate reality beyond. In the Apologia Newman says that he was indebted to Butler for this idea. He was greatly impressed by the idea of interrelated strata of reality: "The very idea of an analogy between the separate works of God leads to the conclusion that the system which is of less importance is economically or sacramentally connected with the more momentous system, and of this conclusion the theory... [of] the unreality of material phenomenon is an ultimate resolution."[1] The lesser phenomena of the material order, though a genuine and necessary element in human experience, were not on the level of ultimate reality. From this basic premise springs the familiar Anglo-Catholic doctrine of the sacramental character of all nature. But while the Liberal Catholics of the early twentieth century founded this doctrine upon the theory of immanence, i.e., a belief in the essential unity of spiritual and material

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1. Apologia, p.67.

reality, the Tractarians drew it from the Romantic idea of the essential mysteriousness, and unreality, of the natural world as it appears to man. Newman referred to Keble's Christian Year as having taught him "what may be called, in a large sense of the word, the sacramental system; that is the doctrine that material phenomena are both the types and the instruments of real things unseen."[1] This is really what Keble means by "mysticism" in his Tract on the mysticism of the Fathers, Brilioth concludes:

> "What Keble means by the mysticism he examines in the early Fathers is little more than a kind of symbolism, though he seems to postulate an objective connection between certain more generally applied symbols, and the spiritual realities they represent. It is thus only the adaptation of the idea of nature's symbolic - or as it is sometimes called - sacramental character, that is a leading feature in Keble, which has its best known expression in 'The Christian Year': Nature is a word of God, in which all Christian Revelation is written for him who understands how to read it."[2]

The idea recurs often in Newman's writing. The principle is stated in its Romantic form by a British Critic writer who is reviewing a poem by J. B. Morris entitled "Nature a Parable":

> "Mr. Morris announces obscurity at the very first starting; he tells us that nature contains an unfathomable depth of mystery, which we are to sound with him as far as our plummet line will reach, knowing all the time that there remains an infinite depth below. Nature veils the

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1. Ibid., p.78.
2. Anglican Revival, p.295.

> infinite. The things of time signify eternities. This vast and beautiful world is but an image thrown on the human retina from a heavenly object... We are not here told to strip nature of all her awe, and cast her terrors under our feet, but to humble ourselves before her as a revelation of the Most High, like Him inscrutable, past finding out."[1]

The effect of this view of nature in the Tractarian thought was an emphasis upon the transcendence of God, and an indifference towards the things of this world. One manifestation of this was their unbalanced, if not heretical, Christology. Their belief in the unreality of the material order made it impossible for them to take the Incarnation seriously - a fact which clearly distinguishes them from the Liberal Catholics.[2] Another effect of this

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1. British Critic, LXVIII (Oct., 1843), pp.321-322.
2. Brilioth develops this argument by showing how the Tractarian denial of Christ's real humanity carried them dangerously close to Docetism. To make his point he quotes a sermon of Newman's as follows: "Now I bid you consider that Face, so ruthlessly smitten, was the Face of God Himself; the Brows bloody with thorns, the sacred body exposed to view and lacerated with the scourge, the Hands nailed to the Cross, and afterwards, the Side pierced with the spear; it was the Blood, and the Sacred Flesh, and the Hands, and the Temples, and the Side, and the Feet of God Himself, which the frenzied multitude then gazed upon." From Parochial and Plain Sermons, Vol. VI, No. 6, p.73. Of the Incarnation Pusey said that, God "deigned, a Man, to seem to receive and put forth increase of knowledge." Quoted in Brilioth, Anglican Revival, p.223. Faber makes this same point. Proceeding upon the assumption that a man's theology can most easily be understood in relation to the heresy that most tempts him, he shows how in Newman that heresy was Patripassionism. Cf. Oxford Apostles, p.188. Even Anglo-Catholic T. A. Lacey admits that, "There may be unguarded or exaggerated language used by individuals, who made themselves suspect of Patripassian tendencies; and among those with whom I am specially conversant I have noted some whose

world view was the inability to come to terms with the social dimension of Christian life - which we have discussed above. No great social philosophy could emerge from a Newman who was still haunted by a childhood dream in which "I thought life might be a dream, or I an angel, and all this world a deception, my fellow-angels by a playful device concealing themselves from me, and deceiving me with the semblance of a material world."[1]

What, then, was the relationship between man, nature, and God? While nature was a type or sign of the reality which lay beyond, it was in no sense obviously so. In itself it was chaotic. Some principle of interpretation, some point of connection with the ultimate reality was necessary. Stated theologically, man's sin was a veil before his eyes which shut out the vision of God. But man's sin is not absolute, the capacity to know God is there. Thus we arrive at the conception of indwelling. The relationship between natural revelation and the indwelling divinity is clearly stated in Newman's sermon "The Greatness and Littleness of Human Life":

"To those who live by faith, every thing they

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desire to emphasize the love of the Creator for suffering humanity brings them within this peril." Anglo-Catholic Faith, p.101. It is highly significant that it is impossible to tell whether Lacey is here referring to the old Tractarian religious philosophy or the Kenotic theology of the Lux Mundi school. The two tended to come close to the same heresy for entirely different reasons. The tendency to Pantheism in both Pusey and Weston is another such case.

1. Apologia, p.67.

> see speaks of that future world; the very glories of nature, the sun, moon, and stars, and the richness and beauty of the earth are as types and figures, witnessing and teaching the invisible things of God. All that we see is destined one day to burst forth into a heavenly bloom, and to be transfigured into immortal glory. Heaven at present is out of sight, but in due time, as snow melts and discovers what it lay upon, so will this visible creation fade away before those great splendours which are behind it, and on which at present it depends. In that day shadows will retreat, and the substance show itself. The sun will grow pale and be lost in the sky, but it will be before the radiance of Him whom it does but image, the Sun of Righteousness, with healing on His wings, who will come forth in visible form, as a bridegroom out of his chamber, while His perishable type decays. The stars which surround it will be replaced by Saints and Angels circling His Throne. Above and below, the clouds of the air, the trees of the field, the waters of the great deep, will be found impregnated with the forms of everlasting spirits, the servants of God which do His pleasure. And our own mortal bodies will then be found in like manner to contain within them an inner man, which will then receive its due proportions, as the soul's harmonious organ, instead of that gross mass of flesh and blood which sight and touch are sensible of. For this glorious manifestation the whole creation is at present in travail earnestly desiring that it may be accomplished in its season."[1]

In one sense it can be said that man learns of God through the natural world, for the type must be true to the reality, if only in a limited way. But in a deeper sense, in a true mystic sense, man can only know God in this world because God is within him - the "inner man." This is what

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1. Quoted in Brilioth, Anglican Revival (pp.214-215), from Parochial and Plain Sermons, Vol. IV, No. 14, p.233.

Newman meant by "living by faith" in the sermon we have just quoted.

But what precisely was the nature of this relationship between transcendent God and man which is generally described as indwelling? W. G. Ward identified the indwelling reality with the natural endowment of conscience - natural in the sense that all men are created with it. The conscience was the organ of knowledge, and its nurture was the sole end of religious life. Briefly stated, his fundamental doctrine was this:

> "Knowledge of phenomena is obtained by the intellect, knowledge of realities by the conscience; knowledge of phenomena by enquiry, knowledge of realities by obedience; knowledge of phenomena is obtained by us as masters and judges, knowledge of realities is obtained by us as disciples and as slaves; the one pursuit tends to pride, the other indispensably requires and infallibly increases humility. "[1]

Knowledge of "realities" is thus obtained by moral action. "I believe without any admixture of doubt," he said, "that he who lives daily in the thought and fear of God, and presses forward in all virtuous and godly living, has a knowledge of God's existence, which belongs to a kind, not less than infinitely more certain and direct than any other kind of knowledge whatever."[2] And again: "a course of moral action leads us to know the existence of realities and of essences, as opposed to mere shadows and phenomena;

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1. Ideal, p.510.
2. Ibid., p.499.

it leads us to know that, wholly without those limits of space and time which bound the intellect, there exists an Objective Somewhat..."[1] The act of obedience to the conscience is identified with faith: "Viewed then in the concrete, as found in the devout believer, we may regard conscience and faith to be one and the same faculty: considered as submissively bending before external authority and ever deriving more of doctrinal truth, we call it faith; considered as carefully obeying the precepts of which it has knowledge, and as laboriously realizing and assimilating the truths of which it has possession, we call it conscience."[2] It is elsewhere described as justification and sanctification. Ward only had one doctrine of the Christian life.

As a man develops the religious life, he comes to have more knowledge of reality. With that increase in spiritual knowledge comes more authority in guiding those less advanced in the pilgrimage: "Holy men are the great fountains, from which moral and religious truth flows to the world."[3] And, "Their moral judgments are themselves authoritative, in proportion as the whole circumstances, bearing on the case, were fairly presented to them."[4] The authority

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1. Ibid., p.509.
2. Ibid., p.512.
3. Ibid., p.517.
4. Ibid., p.518.

of the Church rests upon the authority of the saints it has collected together. We have already noted that for Ward the Church was primarily the school in which the moral discipline is practiced.

Unlike Anglo-Catholicism generally, Ward placed little emphasis upon the work of the sacraments in the religious life: "The one vitally important question, in regard to any religious body, is the nature of that inward and personal religion which its system tends to foster; and since all outward forms, ordinances, rules, discipline, are more worthless than chaff or dust, except so far as they minister to such religion; the first matter for our consideration will be, the real value of that religious type or character now in esteem among us."[1] He sees little value in admitting a person to the sacraments if he has not first, in some sense, overcome his sins; i.e., unless he has already passed some distance along the road of religious quest. It was not sacramental grace that Ward expected the Church to supply:

> "But he [the priest] will most sensibly feel the need of some far more penetrating and efficacious weapon, in order to pierce the crust of obdurate self-complacency and self-ignorance, with which he has to deal. To the discovery of some such spiritual weapon, if such be not already possessed, the most gifted spirits within the Church will direct the utmost vigour of their mental resources."[2]

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1. Ibid., p.165.
2. Ibid., p.14.

Ward found this "spiritual weapon" in the "'threefold cord which cannot be broken,' of conscience, Scripture, sanctity: i.e. (1) by their perceiving with daily increasing certainty how exquisitely her system corresponds and answers externally to the internal voice of conscience; (2) how deep and entire the harmony of her doctrines with Scripture; (3) how high and unapproachable by other systems the sanctity which is her witnessed result."[1] It is interesting that he should substitute these three for the usual Anglo-Catholic "sacraments, faith, and order." Actually the first and the last are the same, in Ward's threefold cord, and the second is only a concession to the historical emphasis of the English Church. Of the necessity to begin one's religion with the Scriptures he says in another place: "This is indeed no task necessarily incumbent on myself; for the view I hold on the authority of the Church enables me, for my own comfort and satisfaction, to assume a higher position."[2]

It is important to note that the "sanctity" which is "unapproachable by other systems" is only evidence of a higher degree of spiritual perfection, not of an essential discontinuity between natural and Christian man. Ward believed that a person could begin wherever he found himself, and come to a knowledge of God by obedience to

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1. Ibid., pp.10-11.
2. Ibid., p.533.

his conscience's best light. He was critical of Churchmen for demanding immediate submission on the part of Dissenters, rather than taking them where they were and gradually leading them to greater truth. He felt even more strongly about the Romans making the same mistake in their relations with the Church of England, because the principles of the Ideal were supposed to be theirs. He also developed this argument in relation to missionary methods. The whole idea rested upon the assumption that man is naturally good, naturally religious, and that he will seek out the higher good when confronted with it. In relation to the missionary task he says:

> "If a person has heartily acted on the creed he has originally learned, supposing Christian missionaries to appear and put before him a more divine and true revelation, will he not see here the solution of difficulties, the satisfaction of longings, the fulfilment of desires, which have long oppressed him: will not that character, which the finger of God has been tracing within him, cling and respond to that which is exhibited externally, and will he not, by almost a spontaneous movement, feel himself drawn into the vortex of this new attraction?"[1]

A description of the process of conversion follows:

> "So various are the instruments, which a true and deep spiritual wisdom will apply to the great task of a people's conversion: but in all cases the idea of conversion is one and the same. And that idea has been, - the attraction to the Church that feeling of loyalty and reverence, purified and made

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1. Ibid., p.559.

> more intense, which had previously at best no higher object on which to repose, than a human and imperfect system; and the carrying the disciples forward, into a region of new and heavenly doctrine..."[1]

For Ward natural religion was a valid response to God, and it was within His providence as such - not as a perversion or an expression of man's rebellion against Him. Between natural theology and the ideal of supernatural theology there was a gradual movement which the moral agent, the Church, must foster. The conscience is the individual agent in obedience to which the person is carried along the ascent. Only the saints come near realizing the ideal, but all men are a combination of the two extremities, though in different proportions. The natural decreases in proportion to the supernatural's increase. That this scheme is basic to his thought is unquestionable. He identified Protestantism with its contrary, then said that the main purpose of the Ideal was to repudiate the Protestant doctrine of justification, "because that doctrine formally denies the truth, which seems to me the key to all moral and religious knowledge."[2] He objects to the Lutheran doctrine of grace because "it considers the Gospel to be in some sense the reversal, and not merely the complement, of the Natural Law."[3] And again: "I am

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1. Ibid., pp.560-561.
2. Ibid., p.vii.
3. Ibid., p.294.

very anxious to urge the certain truth, that Lutheranism is not chiefly a heresy against revealed, but against natural, religion... it denies essential and fundamental truths of natural religion, and [therefore] contradicts eternal and immutable principles of morality."[1]

It is extremely difficult to find any essential Christianity in Ward's thought. Religion is a more or less natural process, aided by a Church whose principal marks are a quality of life which has no essential connection with Christ. The sacramental connection, which the Tractarians found in the apostolic succession, meant nothing to him. God is not so Transcendent that His Incarnation was necessary to the religious epistomology. In fact the knowledge of God as personal is secured, not through the Self-revealing Incarnation, but in the process of obedience to conscience. After having described that process whereby one arrives at an "Objective Somewhat"[2] Ward goes on to say that, "The highest and most principal of the facts which faith thus learns, I need not say, is the Personality and character of God."[3]

The failure to find a significant place for a doctrine of Incarnation, a Christology, or a sacramental theology, puts Ward outside the main stream of Anglo-Catholicism,

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1. Ibid., p.300.
2. Cf., above, p.154f.
3. Ibid., p.511.

but he nevertheless represents certain tendencies which were always present - and the extreme is helpful in understanding the tendency. In some sense the conscience of the individual Anglo-Catholic always remained the ultimate authority. Again, the difficulty of reconciling certain elements in the Tractarian religious system to a specifically Christian position was brought out early in the Movement. When Keble and Newman edited and published R. H. Froude's Remains in 1838 and 1839, some ardent word-counter got to work and was rewarded with the discovery that in four large volumes,[1] which were made up of the most intensely personal devotional and religious thoughts of one of the most outspoken and influential of the early Tractarians,[2] there was not a single reference to Christ - the name did not appear. Newman attempted to explain this understandably embarrassing fact by saying that when Froude used the words "God" and "Lord" Christ was also implied. As if this were not quite convincing, he went on to say that Christ may not have been named because it is sometimes difficult to put an object of great reverence into words. The difficulty with this explanation is that the words "God" and "Lord" had been used quite freely, and it would be a strange piety indeed

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1. Nearly 2,000 pages in all.
2. Froude, one of the prime movers in the Revival, died in 1836.

that reverenced Christ more than God. Faber has a more plausible explanation:

> "But [this is] not at all absurd if the religion of the supplicant is not specifically Christian; if what moves his imagination is God's majesty and holiness on the one hand, and the visible and traditional splendours of the Church on the other; if Christ is little more than the obvious corollary of Christianity, and the supplicant's 'implicit and practical' faith in Him little more than the necessary consequence of his acceptance of the teaching of the Church... in his private mind Christ seems to have no place at all."[1]

In the early twentieth century there was a revival of the Wardian position - partly in reaction to Liberal Catholicism's much less mystical and more rational theology.[2] This revival was led by Spencer Jones, and his England and the Holy See became its text. Jones, like Ward, believed in an essential continuity between natural and supernatural religion. There is a "Law of Progress"

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1. Oxford Apostles, p.210.
2. Though certain important similarities will be discussed here, the comparison will not stand too much strain. Many similarities - such as the common admiration for things Roman - are superficial. To my knowledge there was no direct influence. Jones, who was not a scholar, was inspired by W. F. Everest (The Gift of the Keys and Other Essays) and acknowledges no debt to Ward in anything I have seen. Furthermore, and most important, Jones represented a position with a primarily ecclesiastic-ecumenical orientation, while Ward's was fundamentally philosophical and personal. Ward's thought was closely related to ideas that were fundamental to the Movement, and he is sometimes credited with having taken over the leadership when Newman "retired" in 1841. This is usually the position adopted by Roman commentators and needs to be taken with a grain of salt. In any event, Jones occupied no comparable position.

in spiritual matters, and as a matter of principle one must follow human or natural laws where the mind of Christ is not absolutely clear.[1] In one sense this simply reflects a common Anglican habit of depending upon a priori arguments, but it also shows an essential agreement with Ward's view of natural revelation, though Jones does not identify the divine element with conscience. Though God normally works in the Church, it is evident that individuals are drawn from where they are. But it is the Holy Spirit, not the conscience, that is "working in individual souls and in what are described as false systems, leading men through the various stages ultimately into the home and household of that Church which our Lord Himself established upon this earth." And He, "condescends even to the false systems of men, drawing individuals more and more to that which is true within those systems and through this leading them on ultimately to the home of all truth."[2] Supernatural religion is therefore the culmination and sanctification of natural religion. In Rome alone is there no further development possible; therefore, Jones concludes, all should recognize the inevitable and return to that Church.

Certain elements in the Wardian conception of the

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1. Cf., Holy See, p.85ff.
2. Ibid., p.230.

divine indwelling were shared by the Tractarians. The idea of conscience "as the echo of God's voice, of the Church as the exponent of conscience and of the Christian revelation, are fundamental to the scheme proposed by Newman and Ward," said Ward's biographer. Considerable evidence can be brought to bear upon this point, but it comes largely from the very unstable period in Newman's development that preceded his secession and in which he was under Ward's spell. He was looking for an authority which did not depend upon the external forms of the Anglican Church - forms which seemed to him to be defective. It was during this period that he said, "I am a Catholic by virtue of my believing in a God; and if I am asked why I believe in a God, I answer that it is because I believe in myself, for I feel it impossible to believe in my own existence (and of that fact I am quite sure) without believing also in the existence of Him, who lives as a Personal, All-seeing, All-judging Being in my conscience."[1] There were traces of a similar conception of indwelling in Newman's earlier thought, however. Brillioth thus describes the idea of religious instinct put forward in Newman's Lectures on Justification (1838):

> "But his own picture of the nature and content of faith is drawn by Newman against the background of his doctrine of religious knowledge,

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1. Apologia, p.323.

> in that he postulates 'that it is an original means of knowledge, not resolvable into sense or reason, confirmed indeed by experience, as they are, but founded on a supernaturally implanted instinct developed by religious obedience, and determining the mind to the word of Christ and His Apostles as its refuge.' It is this instinct which impels the elect, whose heart is opened, to make 'the venture of faith,' to grasp the paradox of the Gospel, to find it confirmed in life by obedience, and so win the crown of Justification."[1]

The same conception was also implied in the well known hymn, "Lead Kindly Light," which Newman wrote on the eve of the Movement:

> "Lead, kindly Light, amid the encircling gloom,
> Lead Thou me on:
> The night is dark, and I am far from home;
> Lead Thou me on.
> Keep Thou my feet; I do not ask to see
> The distant scene, - one step enough for me."[2]

"Were it not for this voice, speaking so clearly in my conscience and my heart," Newman said at another time, "I should be an atheist, or a pantheist, or a polytheist when I look into the world."[3]

A greater similarity between Tractarian and Wardian

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1. Anglican Revival, pp.290-291.
2. The Church Hymnary (Church of Scotland), No. 568. Morse-Boycott's comments on the history of this hymn are interesting, and perhaps instructive as to the development of Anglo-Catholicism away from this form of piety: "The hymn has had an eventful existence. Written to be the marching song of the Anglo-Catholic Movement, it is seldom sung by Anglo-Catholics, because of its sorrowful, subjective character. I do not think it is much sung by Roman Catholics. It has, however, been adopted by Evangelicals and Free Churchmen all the world over." They Shine Like Stars, p.49.
3. Apologia, p.377.

thought is to be found in the idea of the essential continuity of natural and Christian man. This doctrine was clearly developed in Newman's forty-seventh Tract. He had been criticized by an opponent for excluding Dissenters from the realm of salvation. He denies the charge outright - and in doing so illustrates the distinction between the soteriological and ecclesiological to which we have made reference above. He had said, he admits, that Dissenters have received few of God's gifts, but "Where little is given, little will be required."[1] Even the heathen can become saints:

> "Further, it is surely parallel with the order of Divine Providence that there should be a variety, a sort of graduated scale, in His method of dispensing His favour in Christ. So far from its being a strange thing that Protestant sects are not 'in Christ,' in the same fulness that we are, it is more accordant to the scheme of the world that they should lie between us and heathenism. It would be strange if there were but two states, one absolutely of favour, one of disfavour. Take the world at large, one form of paganism is better than another. The North American Indians are theists, and as such more privileged than polytheists. Mahometanism is a better religion than Hindooism. Judaism is better than Mahometanism. One may believe that long established dissent affords to such as are born and bred in it a sort of pretext, and is attended with a portion of blessing, which does not attach to those who cause divisions, found sects, or wantonly wander from the Church to the Meeting House; - that what is called an orthodox sect has a share of Divine favour, which is utterly withheld from heresy."[2]

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1. "The Visible Church, Letter IV," Tracts, Vol. II (London: 1836), p.2.
2. Ibid., pp.3-4.

Pusey, who held a similar view of natural religion, was aware of its tendency to Pantheism. Though he believed that the Christian doctrine of Incarnation saved him from adopting a view "in which the soul loses itself, its own existence, when absorbed into the Divine Being,"[1] he recognized that a theory of natural revelation had a certain affinity with his own position: "Yet so does the soul of man long for union with God, that if the truth is withheld from it, it will seek, by way of imagination or of heresy, Him, Whom ignorantly (St. Paul tells us) and blindly human nature 'feels after,' 'though He be not far from every one of us.'"[2] Commenting upon this, Brilioth suggests that, "This is highly characteristic: even the Sufic form of Pantheism has really more attraction to Pusey than the watered-down form of prophetic religion which he refers to under the name of Socinianism or Rationalism."[3] In so far as this knowledge of God is not therefore dependent upon the Christian dispensation, Tractarians like Pusey and Newman came close to the Wardian view of a more or less natural relationship between man and God. However much their Calvinistic background gave them the words of a radical doctrine of sin, they could not, in fact, reconcile such a doctrine to this view.

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1. Brilioth, Anglican Revival, p.300.
2. Quoted in Ibid., from the Preface to Sermons during the Season from Advent to Whitsuntide (1848), p.xxi.
3. Ibid.

Man's condition was not so radically sinful that he was incapable of response to God. In fact one of their criticisms of Lutheran doctrine was its refusal to recognize man's capacity for response, for the moral life of obedience. Oakeley described man "in the light in which the Bible regards him, as the humble and teachable recipient of heavenly truth."[1] And to Froude, Brilioth observes, "We are like children in the state of innocence - no one can be more alien than Froude to the thought that man is born in sin."[2] Sin was entanglement in this material existence, salvation was the release from it into the unity of the eternal Reality. But this view of man was more a part of their piety than of their theology. Though this conception of natural revelation, this mysticism, runs through their thought - especially in their devotional writing, it did not dominate their systematics. The Tractarians, as we shall see, came closer than any of their successors to saying that "outside the Church there is no salvation." Systematically the concept of indwelling was closely associated with the Christian dispensation.

The ecclesiological link between Creator and creature is a far more significant factor in the philosophical-

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1. Quoted in Shaw, Early Tractarians (p.30), from the Preface to Sermons preached chiefly in the Chapel Royal at Whitehall.
2. Anglican Revival, p.240.

theological assumptions behind the Anglo-Catholic ecumenical theology. It was more from a particular conception of the Church than from this general conception of natural revelation that the Anglo-Catholic approached other Christian bodies, though both must be taken into account when considering the distinction drawn between soteriology and ecclesiology. And this distinction was especially important to the Liberal Catholic ecumenical theology. In our period Anglo-Catholic theologians approached this question of the ecclesiological relationship between God and man in two ways. One defined this relationship in terms of infused grace, and the other in terms of immanence. Generally speaking, the first was associated with the individualistic sacramental soteriology of the Tractarians and their successors, and the second with the more corporate and cosmic soteriology of the Liberal Catholics. But it is more a question of emphasis than of mutually exclusive doctrines. Pusey, for instance, believed that the unity with Christ which was the purpose and end of the religious life "is imparted primarily through the Sacraments,"[1] and particularly the sacrament of baptism, but he also believed that this inner presence

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1. The Church of England a Portion of Christ's One Holy Catholic Church, and a Means of Restoring Visible Unity: An Eirenicon in a Letter to the Author of the Christian Year (London: 1865), p.54. This is usually called Eirenicon I.

was more than a substance, it was a person. But it was person connected with substance in a particular rite. While the Liberal Catholics, on the other hand, emphasized the immanence of the Holy Spirit in the whole body of the Church, they too related that presence to the sacraments. In fact, their view of the material world as ultimately real, connected the indwelling person with the material elements in a way that had been impossible for the Tractarians - influenced as they were by Romanticism and a form of neo-Platonism. But the difference in emphasis had an important effect upon their doctrine of essential unity, and for this reason a separate treatment of these two elements in the Movement's conception of the relationship between God and man is of value to the present study.

The doctrine of infused grace, closely connected as it was with an essential dualism, was ultimately impersonal. Through the agency of the Church sacraments, man partook of the divine energy or power, but not the person of God in anything but a derivative sense. In so far as this infused substance was an attribute of God, it could be spoken of in semi-personal terms like "being" or "presence." This relationship between substance and being is brought out in Brilioth's treatment of the subject. First he points out that for the Tractarians "Justification consists in a something, a quality, a substance, which comes into

and changes man, and makes him acceptable."[1] But this "something" is a part of God's personal being: "Justification becomes the act whereby man, in ever-increasing measure, appropriates the nature of God, the act also whereby God actively enters into, infuses Himself into man, and draws him upwards."[2] The sacraments, the media of justification, provide the means by which God, or an attribute of God, enters the individual and prepares him for that ultimate unification with God which is salvation. Brilioth thus summarizes Newman's doctrine of infused grace:

> "To Newman grace is, as we saw, in the first instance an infusion of the Divine Nature, and though accompanied by forgiveness of sins as a consequential phenomenon it has rather the character of medicina than of benevolentia Dei erga peccatorum. The preponderance of the idea of gratia infusa is perhaps the surest guide to the land of sacramental mysticism."[3]

The twentieth century theology of W. L. Knox has important similarities with this view. He begins, in the second part of his book The Catholic Movement in the Church of England, by placing the problem in the context of his philosophy of religion. Unlike the Wardians he believed that natural man would prefer the lower course in any choice between the natural (used here in a negative sense to mean worldly) and the supernatural. He could and would

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1. Anglican Revival, p.286.
2. Ibid., p.288.
3. Ibid., p.294.

do nothing to save himself. The Church alone provided the means of salvation: "The Catholic religion offers then a system by which man is enabled to overcome this obstacle of sin, and fulfil the purpose for which he was created."[1] The object was to enable the individual to glorify and serve God.[2] Christ died to atone for man's sin, but His mercy did not end with this act of forgiveness. Together with it He supplied a gift: "This divine gift by which man is enabled to overcome sin and to offer acceptable service to God is known as grace."[3] This is not simply an attitude of mercy, as Protestant doctrine would suggest, it is a "divine power working within him [man]."[4] Knox was unwilling to say that this grace was essentially related to the Christian sacraments or Church, yet, "the Catholic system of religion is the means by which this gift is normally made available for the needs of men."[5]

This system requires, as its complement, the conception of man which has been considered above. However much sin prevents man from knowing or responding to God, it is not of such a radical nature that it either blots out the effect of grace extra ecclesiam or makes him unable to receive or seek this gift. Once having received it, response is

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1. The Catholic Movement, p.45.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p.47.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p.48.

simply possible on a higher level. The response is, in fact, necessary to the efficacious work of infused grace. In Bicknell's thought it is obvious that this operative infusion is not limited to the Church when he says that, "Christ did not originate but consecrated afresh the sacramental principle."[1] Nevertheless the normal channels of infused grace were dependent upon the Incarnation. As Pusey said:

> "By taking upon Him our Flesh He has sanctified it as His dwelling. It is therefore possible for Him to dwell in us."[2]

"Above all," said Knox, "they [the Tractarians] taught that religion was not morality based on a dim supernatural sanction but the vital communion of the soul with God as revealed in Jesus Christ."[3]

The sacraments were the means of extending the divine human relationship of the Incarnation through time. The old man was cleansed at baptism, and grace given him to secure his state of justification. The mass replenished and refreshed this inner presence. One is justified at baptism, Pusey said, and continues in that state by "striving to keep God's commandments through the Grace of Christ, trust to Him for strength to do what is pleasing

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1. Theological Introduction, p.255.
2. Paraphrased in Brilioth, Op. cit. (p.321), from "The Holy Eucharist a Comfort to the Penitent."
3. Op. cit., p.216.

to God, for pardon for what is displeasing, and these bestowed especially through the Holy Eucharist as that which chiefly unites them with their Lord."[1] J. B. Mozley thus describes Pusey's view of the relationship between the sacraments, infused grace, and the religious life:

> "He has devoted himself to the consideration of Sin: its awful nature: its antagonism to God: its deep seat in our nature: the remedy provided for it by our Lord's meritorious sufferings and death, and the application of that remedy in the ordinance of Baptism... Baptism is a new birth, an entrance into a new world, the communication of a new nature. And sin is in Baptism pardoned... but then comes the fact that men live after Baptism: sin comes up again, and has to be dealt with again... Here the easy way to peace ends, and a rough and difficult one begins."[2]

There were several changes in the ethos of Liberal Catholicism that made the above principles unacceptable by themselves. Because it had a considerable influence upon modern Anglican ecumenical thought, this school is particularly important to our study, but there were strong movements in other directions at the same time. The Ritualist movement, which had come to exalt the eucharist above all else as the means of salvation, was one of these. It tended to retain the Tractarian individualism and was critical of the Liberal Catholic willingness to tamper,

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1. Liddon, Life, Vol. II, p.140. For a more extensive discussion of this view, cf., below, Ch. V, p.456ff.
2. Quoted in Ibid. (p.307), from Essays, Vol. II, pp.158-159.

as they thought, with those channels through which sacramental validity was secured. The Anglican Papalists represented still another development. There was also a large and ecumenically significant body of men who maintained the Tractarian theology. Since they were primarily interested in reunion with Rome and the East, the break down of the Halifax-Portal negotiations in the 1890's (and again in the 1920's) greatly reduced their ecumenical influence and interest. Keeping alive the Tractarian dream that all would be well if Rome could only be brought really to understand the Catholic position of the Anglican Church, they lived in a world of their own making.

The Liberal Catholics, on the other hand, were struggling to come to terms with the modern world. Two problems in particular confronted them. The first was the popular doctrine of inevitable progress, and the second was the widespread acceptance of the tenets of Biblical criticism in Britain. The Tractarian doctrine of the unreality of the material world, with its emphasis on a transcendent God, became increasingly difficult for the Anglo-Catholic intellectual who was confronted by the decline of Romanticism and the increasing influence of the "scientific spirit." At the same time young men like Gore were being attracted by the current social doctrines of men who, in the previous generation, had been regarded

as among Anglo-Catholicism's greatest opponents, and the Tractarian individualistic otherworldliness could not provide the theological foundations for this interest.[1] Though the Liberal Catholics never accepted what is technically called the Social Gospel theology, their theology did have a strong social orientation. In the Incarnation God had entered the social order, thus consecrating it to His ends. It is therefore within this order that man must fulfil his discipleship.

Lux Mundi, this school's manifesto, opened with an essay on "Faith" by H. Scott Holland, who stated its theological presuppositions. He is, first of all, anxious to distinguish between faith and simple belief or propositional statement. Faith lies beyond all its external expressions because it is primarily man's response to a relationship: "Faith grounds itself, solely and wholly, on an inner and vital relation of the soul to its source."[2] This relationship of sonship, as it is called, requires response: "That bond, which is the secret of our entire

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1. W. G. Peck tried to show how the Tractarians were, in fact, laying the foundations for the only possible social theory, i.e., that social welfare must be based upon God-given principles and not upon man's schemes; but the very title of the book in which Peck makes this point suggests that they did not themselves see this as one of the purposes of the Movement. Cf., The Social Implications of the Oxford Movement (New York: 1933). A brief statement of this book's thesis can be found on p.8.
2. Lux Mundi, p.13.

existence, accounting for all that we are, or do, or feel, or think, or say, must become capable of recognition by a being that is, in any sense, free, intelligent, conscious: and this recognition by us of the source from whence we derive, is what we mean by faith."[1] Being the relationship of a son to his father, its primary note is trust (as opposed to certainty).[2] Since this relationship is man's by virtue of his humanity, the significant point of contact between God and man is the point of recognition, the point of faith:

> "Faith is the sons's receptivity: it is that temper of trust, which makes the entry of succours possible: it is the medium of response: it is the attitude of adherence to the Father, by virtue of which communications can pass. If Faith goes, all further action of God upon the soul, all fresh arrival of power, is made impossible, the channel of intercourse is blocked."[3]

The essential relationship to which faith is a response, the condition of sonship, is man's by virtue of his humanity, and is, therefore, a common possession of both natural and Christian man. It was not completely destroyed by the Fall: "Not even the Fall, with all its consequent accumulations of sin, can avail to wholly undo the primitive condition of existence."[4] Because this

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1. Ibid., p.14.
2. Ibid., p.18.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p.20.

condition is universal, the demand for response, for faith, "must constitute a fixed and necessary demand upon all men."[1] The Biblical history illustrates the gradual recognition of this demand: "The history of faith is the history of this gradual disclosure, this growing capacity to recognise and receive, until the rudimentary omen of God's fatherhood in the rudest savage who draws, by clumsy fetich, or weird incantation, upon a power outside himself, closes its long story in the absolute recognition, the perfect and entire receptivity."[2] The author of Hebrews, Holland points out, "most certainly considers it possible and justifiable to emphasise the continuity that holds between the faith of Abraham and the faith of the redeemed."[3] Of the Bible itself he says: "We believe in it as the record of our growing intimacy with God."[4] Both Bible and Christian tradition are valuable records of this fact.[5] But this principle was applicable to the heathen as well as to the chosen people of Israel. Here again we find the ideas of development and continuity which were characteristic of so much Anglo-

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1. Ibid., p.18.
2. Ibid., pp.16-17.
3. Ibid., p.54.
4. Ibid., p.43.
5. This concept of epistemological development was the Liberal Catholic answer to the Idealistic-Humanistic views of development so popular at the time.

Catholic thought.

Commenting on some of the criticism levelled against Lux Mundi, Gore seemed surprised, in his Preface to the tenth edition, that much of it suggested that the volume had failed adequately to account for human sin. When one takes this essay by Holland as an example, the criticism is not unjustified. In one place, as we have noted, he softens the doctrine of the fall, in another he says that "Our powers have, in them, some likeness to those of God. If He be our Father, if we be made in His image, then, in our measure, we can rely upon it that we close with Nature in its reality."[1] In its context, this comment amounts to an attack upon the neo-Platonist element in Tractarianism, but it also revealed the author's basic understanding of man. This much must be said of the Lux Mundi essayists, they recognized the danger. Holland himself attempts to meet the problem - though unsatisfactorily. He did not believe that man is free to make the necessary response without God's help. Man was originally created as God's son, and the Spirit was a condition of that existence, but after the Fall it became necessary for the Spirit to intervene "to make such belief exist." "The right [sonship] to believe, and the power to believe, had both to be recreated."[2] Nevertheless the condition of sonship could

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1. Ibid., p.23.
2. Ibid., p.54.

not be destroyed because it was the very basis of man's existence, and God continues to issue the invitation which "He still assumes to be possible," as if it were "in man's power to respond to it."[1] This statement is in itself an illustration of the absolute necessity, to this system, of the ability to respond.

In J. R. Illingworth's essay on "The Incarnation and Development," the relationship between man and the Godhead is explained with the doctrine of divine immanence, the type of which is the Incarnation. Atonement, he says, is a doctrine which necessarily involves an individualistic soteriology, and needs, therefore, to be put back in the context of the doctrine of Incarnation. The doctrine of Incarnation, as here used, often resembles a doctrine of natural as much as of special revelation. Like the Anglo-Catholic sacramental doctrine, it has both a general and a particular point of reference. In any event the special revelation in Christ was an essential part of the reconstituted relationship between God and man. Like Holland, he accepts the idea of development as fundamental to an understanding of the Incarnation:

> "So it was that the theology of the Incarnation was gradually drawn out, from the teaching of S. Paul and of S. John. The identity of Him Who was made man and dwelt among us, with Him by Whom all things were made and by Whom all

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1. Ibid.

> things consist; His eternal pre-existence as the reason and the word of God, the Logos; His indwelling presence in the universe as the source and condition of all its life, and in man as the light of His intellectual being; His Resurrection, His ascension, - all these thoughts were woven into one magnificent picture, wherein creation was viewed as the embodiment of the Divine ideas, and therefore the revelation of the Divine character; manifesting its Maker with increasing clearness at each successive stage in the great scale of being, till in the fulness of time He Himself became man, and thereby lifted human nature, and with it the material universe to which man is so intimately linked; and triumphing over the sin and death under which creation groaned and travailed, opened by His Resurrection and then by His Ascension vistas of the glorious destiny purposed for His creatures before the world was."[1]

Romanticism, and the Tractarians, had believed that nature was a veil, almost an illusion. The Liberal Catholics, on the other hand, took the Incarnation as a type of God's immanence in the whole material universe. "We cannot therefore overestimate the importance of restoring to its due place in theology the doctrine of the Divine Immanence in nature," Illingworth said, "to which this sentiment [he refers to the expressions of truth in heathen religion] is the instinctive witness... and we need not fear to transgress the limits of the Christian tradition in saying that the physical immanence of God the Word in His creation can hardly be overstated, as long as His moral transcendence of it is also kept in view."[2] The doctrine of immanence

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1. Ibid., p.184.
2. Ibid., p.192.

and the principle of development are thus wedded to create a world view in which spiritual man is at home in the natural world; and natural as well as Christian man participates to some degree in the universal human response to the indwelling God:

> "And all this is in perfect harmony with our Christian belief in a God Who, from the day of man's first appearance in the dim twilight of the world, left not Himself without witness in sun and moon, and rain and storm-cloud, and the courses of the stars, and the promptings of conscience, and the love of kin: and Who the while was lighting every man that cometh into the world, the primaeval hunter, the shepherd chieftain, the poets of the Vedas and the Gathas, the Chaldaean astronomer, the Egyptian priest, each, at least in a measure, to spell that witness out aright; ever and anon when a heart was ready revealing Himself with great clearness, to one or another chosen spirit, and by their means to other men; till at length, in the fulness of time, when Jews were yearning for one in whom righteousness should triumph visibly; and the Greeks sighing over the divorce between truth and power, and wondering whether the wise man ever would indeed be king; and artists and ascetics wandering equally astray, in vain attempt to solve the problem of the spirit and the flesh; 'the Word was made Flesh and dwelt among us, full of grace and truth.' The pre-Christian religions were the age-long prayer. The Incarnation was the answer."[1]

Walter Lock's essay states the Lux Mundi theology in ecclesiological terms. The relationship of sonship requires a corporate response: religion, he says, "is, almost universally, the link which binds man to man, no less than that which binds man to a Power above him."[2] Whatever

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1. Ibid., p.205.
2. Ibid., p.366.

God's activity before the Incarnation, the Church itself was not born till Pentecost, because not until then was the unifying agent, the Holy Spirit, given. The relationship between the Spirit and God's immanence is not clearly stated in this essay, but in the Church it is the Spirit that constitutes the "spiritual unity which underlies the external visible unity."[1] His conception of natural development is therefore not so strong as that of, say, Holland:

> "The comparative study of religions is shewing us more and more how much of deep spiritual truth there is in heathen religions, but it is shewing us equally how little power this truth had to hold its own, how it was overlaid, crushed out, stifled. The truth of the unity of God underlies much of the polytheism of India, Greece, and Rome; but it is only the philosopher and scholar that can find it there."[2]

And again:

> "The very truths of natural religion, which heathenism tended to degrade, found a safe home within the Church; the knowledge of the Creator, His eternal power and Godhead, which the nations had known but lost, because they glorified Him not as God, neither were thankful, has been kept alive in the Eucharistic services of the Church, repeating through the ages its praise of the Creator: 'We praise Thee, we bless Thee, we worship Thee, we give thanks to Thee, for Thy great glory, O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty."[3]

Natural revelation and Christianity, though not discontinuous, are not two degrees of a single spiritual pro-

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1. Ibid., p.375.
2. Ibid., p.390.
3. Ibid.

gression. In this respect, Lock is not in full agreement with most of the other writers in the volume.[1]

For our present purpose, Gore's essay, "The Holy Spirit and Inspiration," is the most important. "Nature," says Gore, "is one great body, and there is breath in the body; but this breath is not self-originated life, it is the influence of the Divine Spirit... A special in-breathing of the Divine Spirit gave to man his proper being."[2] The Spirit is the God-given means of unity, of sonship, and of fellowship. "Our race was created for conscious fellowship with God, for sonship, for the life of spirit,"[3] but sin marred this plan. Therefore there could be no natural progress, in the usual sense of the term, only recovery and redemption. It was through God's self-limitation in the corporate personality of Israel, Christ, and the Church that the work of the "reconstitution of the nature which God designed" was affected. In this activity there is development - development based upon obedience to the Spirit.

In Gore's thought the Spirit is a Person of the Godhead - not simply an attribute of God - and the basis of the Church's essential unity: "... the Church is the

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1. In his essay on "Atonement," Arthur Lyttelton supported Lock's conclusions in so far as he said that natural man was incapable of atoning for his own sin and therefore in a state of overwhelming hopelessness.
2. Ibid., p.318.
3. Ibid., p.319.

Spirit-bearing body, and what makes her one in heaven and paradise and earth is not an outward but an inward fact - the indwelling of the Spirit, which brings with it the indwelling of Christ, and makes the Church the great 'Christbearer,' the body of Christ."[1]

But the activity of the Spirit is not limited to this body. It lightens individuals [2] as well as natural man.[3] The essence of the Church, the Holy Spirit, is identical with that which unifies all nature.[4] Nevertheless Gore does make an important distinction between Christian and non-Christian. All have their very being, their existence, in the work of the Spirit, but with this difference: "Under the old covenant, and in all the various avenues of approach to the Church, men could be the subjects of the Spirit's guidance and could be receiving gifts from Him: but the 'initiated' Christian, baptized and confirmed, possessed not merely His gifts but Himself."[5] Only in the Church, therefore, can God's ultimate redemptive purpose be fulfilled.

In the early twentieth century there were certain important developments in the Liberal Catholic theology.

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1. Roman Catholic Claims (11th ed., London: 1920), p.26.
2. "There is then an individual 'inspiration,' as well as an inspiration of the whole body." Op. cit., p.325.
3. "One Spirit was the original author of all that is; and all that exists is in its essence very good." Ibid., p.327.
4. Cf. Ibid., p.332.
5. Ibid., p.333.

Possibly, and for different reasons, the two most important exponents of this advanced Liberal Catholicism were T. A. Lacey and F. Weston.[1] At this point we are primarily interested in Lacey's doctrine of continuity. There is a unity of humanity, Lacey said, that carried over into the Church - the redeemed humanity. Humanity is saved where it is, on earth, in nature, together with nature, and not at some point beyond:

> "As mankind is one, so those redeemed in Christ out of mankind are one. There is a real unity in manifold diversity; unity of spiritual generation, unity of spiritual constitution, unity of spiritual movement, unity of thought and conviction. There is an indestructible unity of mankind, though we mar it and obscure it by political divisions, by exaggerated distinctions of race, by prejudice of education, of habit, and even of colour; so there is an indestructible unity of Christendom, though marred by self-will and obscured by inveterate prejudice. There are not two human races; neither are there two Christian Churches... The Church is founded in the unity of redeemed mankind."[2]

And it was the Spirit that constituted this essential unity: "The figure of the one Body [in Paul] is illuminating; in the religion of the Incarnation you may expect to find an articulated habitation of the one Spirit."[3] More will

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1. All our discussion of Liberal Catholicism is confined to the pre-Essays Catholic and Critical (London: 1926) period, though five men to whose work we make occasional reference in this Thesis were also essayists in that volume: W. L. Knox, N. P. Williams, J. K. Mozley, E. J. Bicknell, and E. Milner-White.
2. Unity and Schism, pp.24-25.
3. Ibid., p.5.

be said about Lacey's development of this idea in the following section.

Weston's conception of unity also depended upon a doctrine of divine immanence, but the precise relationship between this doctrine and the Holy Spirit was not explicitly developed in his writing. In the second chapter of The Fulness of Christ, he elaborates his idea of cosmic redemption.[1] In his application of this concept, Weston arrived at a theory of the Church distinct from that of the Lux Mundi school. In brief, Weston's understanding of the Church was this. Because man is a sinner he does not have the ability to respond to God in the way he should have had as "Divine Being."[2] Christ came to do penance for this sinful condition - "Sorrow, penance, reparation: these mark His sacrificial death."[3] This work is not quite complete, however, for "penitence to be perfect must in some way include the confession of personal guilt."[4] This Christ cannot do, because he did not reject God, i.e., he was not a sinner. Weston insists that only Christ's personal participation could make the Atonement complete. In this he takes issue with Prof. Moberly (Atonement and Personality) who held that this obstacle was overcome by Christ's sympathetic participation: "The Professor over-

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1. Cf., above, p.146ff.
2. The Fulness of Christ, p.36.
3. Ibid., p.37.
4. Ibid.

states his case, making too much of the power of sympathy to overcome fundamental differences."[1]

At this point Weston's doctrine of the Church takes on its particular character. What Christ cannot do as the sinless one, the Church can do. But in order to perfect His penance the Church must be, in an organic sense, "Christ's Body":

> "Knit in closest union with the members of His Body, dominating their inner self, He shares with them the feeling of sin that is properly their own; bears it with them and in them; and by His own perfect love, that is penance and reparation, raises it to the level and gives it the merit of His own activity. That is to say, Christ is Perfect Penitent not as Crucified only, but as Crucified and now active in His mystical Body."[2]

At this point one would expect Weston to establish the essential relationship between Spirit and body, which would then allow him to relate that body to the unity of the Godhead and the second person of the Trinity. Instead he puts forward a view of essential timelessness - which does not appear elsewhere in the book. We are unable to see clearly the relationship between Christ and the body, he says, because we are limited by a certain conception of time:

> "The chief difficulty in this view is on our side, for we see all in succession; in God's sight all is one, and time is nothing. We see Calvary in the past; God sees it as present;

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1. Ibid., p.39.
2. Ibid., pp.39-40.

> and our confession in Christ or His confession in us is one act with His sacrifice on Calvary."[1]

In its context, this comment seems rather more like an exploratory means of meeting a particular problem than a real part of his argument. The fact that in other places Weston speaks about the necessity of continuing the Calvary event in time, etc., suggests that it need not be taken seriously. His whole idea of a cosmic movement towards unity, not to mention his sacramentalism, certainly suggests the reality of time in God's scheme of things. The use of this argument of timelessness at this rather critical juncture does reveal the difficulty Weston had in relating the body to Christ in intelligible theological terms.

In any event the idea of the body acting together with the Head in offering perfect penance is definite enough: "Thus completed Atonement depends on two realities : the Saviour who is Holy God made flesh; and a united body of redeemed sinful men in whom Jesus the Saviour can perfect penitence."[2] The body must be one. Anything that disturbs its wholeness makes impossible its perfect offering of penance. As an example he considers the sin of uncharity: "How can Christ be Perfect Penitent for this class of sins, using the Church as agent, instrument and means of His penitence, if so be the Church itself is filled with

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1. Ibid., p.40.
2. Ibid., pp.41-42.

uncharity and discord?"[1] Disunity is therefore more serious than is sometimes supposed: "In fact it has been something so incomparably foul and evil that our good Father's purpose has for a second time been hindered."[2]

In the third chapter, Weston outlines his view of man and reality. We experience Personal Life on three levels: that of eternal God, the triune Being; that of human life as it naturally is; and "between the two, partaking of the nature of both, is the order of manhood-in-God, the order of new redeemed personality, of our human personality united with God, through the manhood of the Lord Jesus, by the way of our personal self-submission to the divine Person of the Saviour."[3] This convergence of the transcendent and immanent must be extended through time (the idea of timelessness has already deserted him). The inadequacy of most modern Christology, in fact, is just this: it does not understand the necessity of an extension of this unity which may "exist side by side with the human race down the ages of eternity."[4] Though he sees in the ascended Christ "the perfect agent and instrument of the divine relations with all creation," the actual agent of His continuing relationship with the visible body is still not identified. There is a natural unity in the Church,

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1. Ibid., p.42.
2. Ibid., p.43.
3. Ibid., p.56.
4. Ibid., p.57.

which resembles Holland's concept of sonship, but beyond this there is a supernatural infusion of some sort: "Since man is one, and his obedience one, the new embodiment thereof will be new only in respect of its supernatural character; essentially it will remain what it has been from birth."[1]

The idea of natural continuity is expanded in the fourth chapter. There is this difference between the old and the new man: the failure of the first creation to achieve atonement was complete, and a new creation had to take place, based upon the third level of personal life - man lifted up to God in Christ: "The Creative Reason Incarnate came in order to found a new order of creation, of which the basis should be His own humanity, and the life of His own human life."[2] And, "Manhood in God became in fact the possessor and master of powers and forces that are beyond manhood apart from God; and that, in order to constitute in manhood the basis of the new order of creation."[3] But a new order has not really been established, it should be noted, only the other two brought together. The movement of the universe towards the unity of the Godhead is fulfilled in Christ, who in turn lifts the rest to that unity: but in the original order of

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1. Ibid., p.65.
2. Ibid., p.76.
3. Ibid., p.77.

creation there was also a movement from the natural to the supernatural.[1] The Incarnation and its extension, the Church, have nevertheless been provided by God as the primary movers in the reconstituted movement towards atonement: "The end of the Incarnation is the unification of the human race with Christ in God, so that God may express Himself in and through redeemed humanity."[2]

The fifth chapter considers in more detail the ecclesiological implications of the book's primary principles. The agency linking man and God is still simply identified as Christ: there is no explicit reference to the Spirit as the Christ-presence in the Church. There is, instead, what appears to be a sacramentalism of the Tractarian type. Referring to the first eucharist he says: "And it was in that same hour that the Humanity of Christ was consecrated to the service of mankind in the Blessed Sacrament; and the Very Body of God offered to us as the center of our union and the basis of our common brotherhood, and also as the power within us that unifies us both with God and man."[3]

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1. In another chapter he shows that God's activity, His redemptive process, is not limited to the Church and therefore there must be extra ecclesiastical movement towards the unity of being: "The coming of Christ is the climax of Divine Bounty." Ibid., p.160. God has worked out the details of the unifying instrument, the Church, "but in no sense do these details limit Love's activities. Nor does the incarnation of the Eternal Word in any sense hinder Him, in His universal sphere, from His search for souls, or from His loving labour of illuminating those who in any sense respond." Ibid.
2. Ibid., p.111.
3. Ibid., p.132.

But in the context of Weston's thought grace cannot simply be an infused attribute of God. It becomes evident that this conception of grace is only operative on one of three levels at which the Church can be found. First, there is the essential Church which is Christ himself. On this level atonement or unity is complete.[1] Secondly, there is the accidental Church which, having come into existence on Christmas Day, exists on the third level of personal life - the level of manhood-in-God. The object of redemption is the incorporation of the whole race into this Church. It is into this Church that baptism admits the Christian. Thirdly, there is the visible Church which exists within the accidental and is indentified by certain forms. It is on this last level that the eucharistic grace is operative. While discussing the accidental Church Weston does imply that the unifying agent is the Spirit, but the inference is not as strong as we would like. The accidental Church, he says, "is the sum total of those who, by the response of their free wills to the grace of the Spirit, have been incorporated by baptism into the essential Church, and Manhood of Christ."[2] This also implies that confirmation has an essential relationship to baptism - otherwise the phrase "by the response of <u>their</u> free wills" would have no meaning.

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1. Cf. <u>Ibid</u>., p.124.
2. <u>Ibid</u>.

In the first chapter there is also a suggestion that the Spirit is the indwelling agent:

> "The Church of Christ is the lineal descendent of the Jewish Nation: it is God's own assembly. It remains the family of those who respond to the immanent God in the person of the Holy Spirit - the Spirit of Jesus, acknowledge the transcendent God in the person of the Incarnate God, and find the unification of immanence and transcendence as they adore the Invisible, Triune Godhead in and through and with the glorious Christ Jesus."[1]

And again: "Vital religion is to be studied first as life in the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, the brotherhood of the Church."[2] It is, in the final analysis, the Holy Spirit as immanent God who makes possible the unity of man as nation or Church, and, further, the unity of that nation and all of nature with the Godhead.

III

In the various Anglo-Catholic systems which we have been considering, there were certain recurrent themes which had a significant influence upon the Movement's ecumenical theology, i.e., its understanding of the relationship between the unity of the Godhead and the unity of the visible Church. The first of these was the idea of continuity or natural religious development. Though in various degrees destroyed by sin, man's original capacity to respond to a redemptive agent remained. Thus, even without the special Christian revelation, this theory

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1. Ibid., p.11.
2. Ibid., p.24.

implies a unity of essential humanity. There was a tendency to deny the radical nature of sin by making it a natural, though serious, handicap rather than a spiritual rebellion.

However, most Anglo-Catholics agreed that some external act was necessary to reconstitute the original relationship between God and man. In the individualistic soteriologies of Ward and the Tractarians, the act was a gift, the infusion of a divine substance or attribute. Through this gift the individual was mystically united with the Godhead; in eternity, not in time; in man's soul ultimately united with God. Pusey could say of the Anglican past: "We were not tempted then to look for any thing but that invisible unity..."[1] Ward believed that man entered this unity only at the end of a life-long effort to obey the dictates of the conscience. In a real sense, for both Ward and Pusey, the unity was the reward, the justification of the life lived unto God. The sacramental theology of the Tractarians had a similar objective. The sacraments imparted a divine power, given man that he might overcome sin and be acceptable to God in the last days. The reunion of man with God was an eschatological event. Tractarian piety, said Brilioth, "culminates in the contemplation of the Hypostatic union of man with God..."[2] In either case

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1. Letter to Canterbury, p.20.
2. Anglican Revival, p.222.

the visible Church was the threshold, not an actual portion of that unity. This was a natural corollary of the Tractarian belief in the illusory nature of the material world. Advocates of either position could not be expected to be unduly disturbed by the disunity of the visible Church. Visible unity was a corollary of the doctrine of the Church for obvious scriptural and creedal reasons, but other things were more important in the constitution of the Church. Orthodox doctrine, for instance, was of such importance that the Tractarians, like their High Church forefathers, justified separation from a body in which it was violated. R. F. Littledale, a sub-Tractarian Ritualist and anti-papalist, goes even further than this: unity to him was an attitude, not a visible form. After having considered scriptural evidence, he concludes that,

> "There is a great deal more implied in all these and other like passages than mere agreement in Church government, ordinances, or even doctrine, though they all have their place clearly defined too. A perfect harmony of will, spirit, and love, such as exists between the Persons of the Most Holy Trinity; nothing less is tendered as a pattern; and the prayer of Our Lord, as well as the teaching of His Apostles, extends to all Christians, not to the ecclesiastical hierarchy alone."[1]

The principal Tractarian and sub-Tractarian approach to reunion was the advocacy of a common return to Primitive holiness and, as a natural consequence, Primitive unity.

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1. Plain Reasons Against Joining the Church of Rome (London: 1884), pp.190-191.

Disunity was the result of human corruption, not fundamental doctrinal disagreement. Thus Newman could say: "Sure we have abundant evidence on all sides of us, that the division of Churches is the corruption of hearts."[1] In a letter to the Bishop of Oxford (1841) this idea is applied to actual cases by Newman:

> "It is sanctity of heart and conduct which commends us to God. If we be holy, all will go well with us. External things are comparatively nothing; whatever be a religious body's relation to the State - whatever its regimen - whatever its doctrines - whatever its worship - if it has but the life of holiness within it, this inward gift will, if I may so speak, take care of itself... When Almighty God stirs the heart, then His other gifts follow in time; sanctity is the great Note of His Church. If the Established Church of Scotland has this Note, I will hope all good things of it; if the Roman Church in Ireland has it not, I can hope no good of it. And in like manner, in our own Church, I will unite with all persons as brethren, who have this Note, without any distinction of party."[2]

And from Pusey: "... with returning holiness unity in its highest degrees would return."[3] The priority of this note over that of visible unity is stated in a letter from Pusey to Dr. Todd of Dublin:

> "We must all long for the unity which our Church prays for, and if we earnestly pray for it, God may again restore a visible unity to His Church in truth and holiness; but until God gives to Rome grace to lay aside her corruptions, and to

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1. Quoted in Brillioth, Anglican Revival (p.169), from "Saintliness not forfeited by the Penitent," Sermons on Subjects of the Day, p.132.
2. Quoted in Brillioth, Ibid., p.159, from the reprint in Via Media, Vol. II, p.395ff.
3. Liddon, Life, Vol. II, p.374.

> us to act up to the principles and standards of our own Church, it cannot be without a sacrifice of duty - we might even each become worse by an union. If we grow in holiness, the Spirit of Christ, which alone can give real unity, will pervade the Church so as to knit it into one; and for this we must long and labour."[1]

For Pusey, as for most Tractarian and sub-Tractarian ecumenists, there was no absolute connection between the mystical unity after which the individual aspires, and the structural unity of the Church. The great Anglo-Catholic ecumenical associations of the sub-Tractarian period were founded upon this assumption. Their program was thus one of mutual enlightenment. It was only because Rome misunderstood Anglicans (wrongly thinking them Protestants) that there was estrangement. Thus one of the primary objectives of their ecumenical activity was to secure the recognition of the English Church by Rome, or the East. Recognition, charity, the absense of controversy; this was the essence of the visible unity which they sought. A letter to The Times on the subject of Pusey's Eirenicon gives Dean Church's summary of the position:

> "With Dr. Pusey it [reunion] appears to mean, not a fusion into one, but a pacification of the various organized communions of Christendom, which now more or less distinctly are in a hostile attitude to one another... He wants a peace between Churches as there is among States; such a good understanding and forbearance in the religious organization of Christendom as there is in the political."[2]

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1. Ibid., p.248.
2. Quoted in Brandreth, Oecumenical Ideals (p.45), from the letter which is dated December 12, 1865.

visible or temporal unity as a whole body, i.e., including all three Catholic churches in a single structural relationship, was not necessary because this level of reality was essentially unrelated to the unity of the Godhead.

In Liberal Catholic thought, on the other hand, the essential unity of man with God had both a visible and temporal dimension. The doctrine of God's immanence in man and nature was the very principle of existence. In man's response to this relationship an actual unification takes place. This unity, or, more accurately, this movement towards unity, had been arrested by human sin, but the Holy Spirit remained as the agent through whom the redemptive plan could be reinaugurated. In the Incarnation this new beginning was made. Once again God's plan to unify His whole creation with Himself could be realized. But this atoning process would have no meaning if the temporal and eternal order were radically different. The unity which God seeks must therefore involve a genuine visible reconciliation. Though Christ could not be divided, His redemptive purpose could be frustrated by the Church's failure to respond as one body. The primary value of visible unity was no longer dogmatic, as it was for the Tractarians, but, rather, as a moral expression of man's united response to and expression of the essential unity of the Godhead. But this raises another problem that must be considered before passing on to the Anglo-Catholic

conception of the second level of unity - the unity of Church forms (dogma, structure, and sacraments).[1] What was the relationship between these forms and the essential unity? We have considered certain means by which men, individually or corporately, are brought into the essential unity, and we have touched upon the general relationship between the natural and supernatural order. This essential unity is complete in itself in so far as God is concerned, but where man is concerned some form of response is necessary. It is with the character of this response that the ecumenical theologian is concerned.

Certain general views of the relationship between the material and the spiritual have been considered above, but it is necessary, if we are to understand the Anglo-Catholic ecumenical theology, to be more specific. This aspect of the problem can, for the sake of convenience, be dealt with in relation to two questions: (1) what is the nature of the relationship between specific forms - dogmatic, structural, or sacramental - and the essential unity? and

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1. That this was a second level of unity was clear. Gore, for instance, said: "Each local Church [diocese] exists to keep open the connection of earth and heaven [as Spirit-bearing body]: to keep the streams of the water of life flowing. Of course each has a necessary connection with all the others in the witness of truth and in the fellowship of love... but their primary point of union, the centre to which they all converge, is nothing lower than Christ." Roman Catholic Claims, pp.33-34. Note that "nothing lower than Christ" does not mean a heaven-centered unity.

(2) what are the obligations of individuals or Christian communities with respect to these forms?

The answer to the first of these questions is closely connected with the Anglo-Catholic world view. In one sense the neo-Platonism of Pusey and Newman circumvents the question: the material was only a sign or figure of the Real, and the religious life was destined to carry man beyond it, not to reconcile him in it. Visible unity, at most a temporary condition, only pointed beyond itself to the essential unity. Though, in the end, all Anglo-Catholics would agree with this, there was a strong tendency from the very beginning to place increasing importance upon the role of the external sign. This resulted in a certain tension between men like Pusey, who represented the former emphasis, and the Ritualists who made so much of things external. Even though Newman and Pusey depreciated any external emphasis in their religious life, they did believe that certain forms were God-given. To disregard them would be to show an un-Catholic spirit. In Ward's Ideal one finds the extreme development of this aspect of Tractarian thought.

But the Movement's mysticism was balanced by what Brilioth calls its "staticism." This element is especially important to us because it provided the base rock of Anglo-Catholic ecumenical theology. Inherited from the old High Church tradition, it was brought into Tractarianism by men

like H. J. Rose and W. Palmer and, to a lesser extent, Keble and Perceval.[1] Whatever their views of the Church's essential unity, its visible unity could only be secured by certain external forms. Palmer's Treatise on the Church of Christ, primarily an apology for the Church of England, is the classic statement of this position. He makes it clear that the essential unity is in Christ, and below that level the only vital and necessary unity is that of the historic succession, the visible connection with Christ. External communion between more or less independent Christian churches is not necessary to that unity. This, of course, is the basis of the branch theory. All churches that can establish their claim to the historic connection partake of that unity. While intercommunion is not necessary, Palmer did feel that it was desirable. But in his Narrative he is extremely critical of those who say that the mystical relationship of holiness makes visible unity more important than conformity to the Church's ancient standards (this line was taken by the Wardians just prior to their departure from the English Church):

> "No: this is not the mode in which the union of the Universal Church can be attained. It is not by concession on vital points... it is not by sacrificing the truth of the Gospel and

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1. Keble's influence was more personal and his inheritance from the High Church tradition more pietistic than dogmatic. Perceval was greatly influenced by the specific Tractarian theology.

> Christian liberty in vain and hopeless straining after a communion, which God... has permitted to be interrupted. When we shall see in other Churches, as well as our own, a spirit of improvement, a spirit of humility and moderation... then, but not till then, may we hope and trust that the reunion of the Church is at hand."[1]

He was, of course, confronted with the necessity of defining catholicity in a way agreeable to this conception. In the Treatise he does so with what he calls the principle of "moral universality." External communion between Christian bodies is not necessary to unity, but it is necessary to recognize in each place the existence of a body that is the Church there. However much visible unity does not depend on intercommunion among churches validly constituted, Palmer does say that such a condition is intolerable in any given geographical area. Only one communion may have jurisdiction in one place. Pusey and most of the sub-Tractarians agreed. Liddon, an active sub-Tractarian ecumenist, is a good example. In a letter dated November 20, 1885, he wrote: "... although strictly visible and unimpaired unity of will and communion best accords with the Will of God, yet that unity is not altogether forfeited when portions of the Church are, for a while, separated from and opposed to each other, provided they retain a hold upon the Faith and structure of the Church, as our Lord has revealed them."[2] The basis of

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1. Narrative, p.193.
2. Quoted in Johnson, H. P. Liddon, p.338.

this position is a static ecclesiology. In a letter written in 1868, Liddon says: "... the note of Unity is, historically speaking, modified if you like, obscured; just as are the notes of Sanctity and Universality. Wherever there are the Sacraments, and the succession, and the Oecumenical Faith, there is Christ; there, too, is the capacity for reunion of other portions of the body which retain these things."[1] So long as Anglo-Catholics accepted an individualistic soteriology this account of the Church's visible unity was adequate.

The influence of Romanticism also has an important bearing upon this question. It was just because nature was a mystery and a veil of things beyond, that its symbolic value was high. It was in this sense that Newman concluded the twentieth Tract with the observation that, "Human nature cannot remain without visible guides; it chooses them for itself, if it is not provided for them." Though these guides might be temporary they were nonetheless important. Through all the Anglo-Catholic thought of our period this idea can be found referred to as the "sacramental principle," i.e., the idea that God uses material means to mediate divine truth. Bicknell's Introduction is a classic statement of it. The very presuppositions of Christianity depend upon the possibility of a "sacramental"

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1. Ibid., p.127.

relationship between the spiritual and the material.[1] He points out that this relationship is a universal factor in religion, and therefore reflects a genuine human need.[2] The fact that primitive man exploited the principle in his attempt to commune with God must be regarded as part of the preparation for Christ's coming: "Our Lord came to fulfill the highest ideals, not only of the Jews but of the heathen too."[3] Christ did not originate, "but consecrated afresh the sacramental principle." The Incarnation, of course, is the most important witness to it: "Just as Christ took on Him a human nature that through it He might draw near to us, so He still draws near to us in things that we can touch and see."[4] Through the Church sacraments this principle is maintained. They make Christianity intelligible to the intellectual and the plain man, the dull witted and the savage, because they are the concrete embodiment of a principle at work throughout their lives:

> "Sacraments are a necessary condition of the social side of religion. If a man wishes to enter into any relations with his fellow-men he must employ material means. The use of a physical medium is the condition of all human intercourse. The glance of an eye, the utterance of the tongue, or whatever it be, all involve the use of matter. A purely

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1. Theological Introduction, p.354.
2. Ibid., p.355.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p.356.

> spiritual life, if it were conceivable for a man, would be a life of isolation."[1]

Similar expressions are frequent among Liberal Catholic writers. In Christian religion, said Kelly, "That is not first which is spiritual but that which is natural."[2] This point, he said, is illustrated by the life of Christ, in which the historic ministry precedes the giving of the Spirit.

In Lux Mundi the principle is pronounced. Moberly connects it with the principle of the Incarnation in the following way:

> "The Incarnation was the sanctifying of both parts of human nature, not the abolition of either. The Church, the Sacraments, human nature, Jesus Christ Himself, all are two-fold; all are earthly objective, as well as transcendental spiritual. And so long as this world is real as well as the next; so long as man is body as well as soul; so long all attempts to evaporate the body and its realities are foredoomed to a necessary and salutary failure. The religion, which attempts to be rid of the bodily side of things spiritual, sooner or later loses hold of all reality. Pure spiritualism, however noble the aspiration, however living the energy with which it starts, always has ended at last, and will always end, in evanescence."[3]

It is the very principle whereby the body is held together in the unity of the Spirit, says Illingworth:

> "If [Christianity] includes the truth, by the essential importance which it assigns to the

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1. Ibid., pp.356-357.
2. The Church and Religious Unity, p.68.
3. Lux Mundi, p.272.

> human body, and therefore to the whole material order, with which that body is so intimately one; while it excludes its perversion, by shewing the cause of that importance to lie in its connection, communion, union with the Spirit, and consequent capacity for endless degrees of glory."[1]

And in Lock's essay:

> "The Infinite appears in finite form; the spiritual takes the material in which to express itself; human media are consecrated to deeper ends, and charged with a fuller meaning than before."[2]

The Liberal Catholics affirmed this idea within the context of a world view quite distinct from that of the Tractarians. The mystical element of Tractarianism saw the material as a sign of something beyond itself. The static element found the significant point of contact or communication in the past - in the Incarnation as a historical event and the Apostolic Church. The Liberal Catholics, on the other hand, held that the material was the means through which the Real itself was mediated, and that through the sacraments this process of mediation was continued. But the sacramental medium was not just the water, bread, and wine, but the whole people, the worshipping, confessing, body. This did not make externals of less importance, it simply shifted the emphasis from particular sacramental rites to the whole body of the Church. Together with this shift came a change in the character of ecumenical controversy. It provided a

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1. Ibid., p.213.
2. Ibid., p.371.

principle upon which discussion with non-episcopalians could be based which avoided many of the difficulties of the Tractarian dogmatic rigidity.[1]

The relationship between the visible organism and the spiritual reality was moral in Liberal Catholic thought. There was a given essential unity to which Christians were obliged to witness in visible forms. The Tractarians, of course, expected the visible to figure the invisible, but the visible was a rigid and unalterable set of forms, not a living organism. The ecumenist had simply to secure the general recognition of these forms.

In Ward's thought, however, the importance of the traditional forms was reduced to a minimum with much more emphasis being placed upon the living community. Its relation to the essential unity was regarded as testimonial. It must have "a form which may proclaim to the world that treasure of grace which she is really privileged to dispense; by which, as on the one hand she may bear with her plain marks of her divine commission, sufficient to accredit her at once to all serious and humble persons as God's appointed representative; and may also offer its fitting place in His service to every faculty of every mind, moral or intellectual."[2] The very idea of progression towards an ideal is a basic contradiction of the presup-

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1. Cf., below, Ch. III, p.401ff.
2. Ideal, p.10.

positions of the Tractarian conception of static forms. Ward's obvious disinterest in the study of history, a study to which the Tractarians devoted a great deal of attention, underlines this difference.

There is a sense in which Ritualism moved in the Wardian direction. The "ceremonialists... were groping," says Morse-Boycott, "for a beauty that, belonging to their Church by right, had been lost by wrong, and felt the need of clothing their teaching in visible forms and symbols, as well as of expressing, in a Godward direction, a devotion which was bursting the dam of cold, dreary Protestantism."[1] Their concern with ecclesiological - as the term was then used - details was an expression of their keen awareness of the witness such matters make to deeper truth. All external forms came to have this import. But the static presuppositions of their theology stifled any real creativity in this movement.[2]

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1. They Shine Like Stars, p.143.
2. The Cambridge Camden Society, for example, was devoted to the principle that medieval Church appointments were the only valid guides to contemporary practice. One writer in their periodical publication, The Ecclesiologist, advocated the reintroduction of the medieval practice of heating churches by heaping hot coals within the iron rim of a cart-wheel. Cf. Lacey, Anglo-Catholic Faith, p.158ff. Lacey, a critic of the Ritualist development, described it in the following terms: "There was an orgy of medievalism, the fashionable medievalism of the time... Nothing but a profound ignorance of medieval thought and practice made it possible. Disjointed excerpts of what had been done in a period of eager and rapid movement were set up as immovable standards. There were grotesque examples." Ibid., p.158. And, "The disease lay in the confusion of religion with

It was the Liberal Catholics who applied the testimonial idea to a definite ecumenical theology. The strong statement of the principle in the Lambeth Appeal of 1920 cannot be other than a reflection of their influence.[1] Though the Lux Mundi essays did not address themselves to ecumenical theology, the testimonial principle was clearly evident. Lock's essay could not be clearer: "It [the Church] is to be a body of visible persons, themselves the light of the world, expressing so that others can see the manifold wisdom of God, winning others to belief in the unity of God, by the sight of their own one-ness."[2] This principle allowed for more flexibility in the approach to ecumenical problems. The Incarnation took place "in order to reveal and perpetuate" the essential unity, said Gore. The same idea runs through many of Gore's later works. It is a principle applicable to social and moral truth as well as to ecumenics:

> "... we are dismayed by the weakening of the cause of Christ, especially of its moral and social witness, which is due to the divisions of Christendom, and we recognize that there is no remedy for our evils to be expected

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aesthetic, and a bad aesthetic, a fashionable craze. It imported into the Catholic movement a vein of frivolity, far removed from Tractarian austerity." Ibid., p.163.

1. It is surely more than coincidence that Liberal Catholics like Gore, Weston, and Lacey warmly supported the Appeal, while those representing the old sub-Tractarian tradition were either critical of it, or reinterpreted it for their own purposes.

2. Lux Mundi, p.367.

> except in a 'return to Christ.' Then when we face honestly the mind of Christ, and the interpretation of that mind by His first messengers, we recognize that the one Spirit was to be revealed in one body, and the one Father and the one Lord in the one baptism and the breaking of the one bread. We must return in fact to the original Catholic conception of the public and covenanted offer of salvation in the one visible Church."[1]

Lacey reacted strongly against the static view of visible unity implied in the Tractarian exposition of the branch theory. The various Christian bodies, he said, cannot be compared to the branches of a tree which are joined only at the trunk, but must be compared to the various divisions of the sea. Though a harbor might be blocked by a surface obstruction, there is still a continuous flow beneath: "For the branches of a tree, though they spring from a common stem, and derive sap from the same root, have no sort of actual communication or intercourse with each other, none of that free circulation which establishes a real unity between the various divisions of the sea."[2] The duty of the ecumenists can only involve the surface blockage, not the stream beneath: "When we work or pray for the reunion of Christendom, we do not regard our object as the development of a somewhat closer federal bond between three or more independent Churches; we desire the realization in practice of a true

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1. Anglo-Catholic Movement, p.23.
2. Unity of the Church, p.21.

unity which already exists."[1] He insists that reunion must begin from unity, not diversity.

He criticizes Bramhall for having denied the existence of this primary unity:

> "A careful reader will note a certain omission in Bramhall's argument. Both the internal and the external communion of which he speaks are alike elements of a moral, not a natural unity. They are alike to be upheld as a matter of duty, the former in all cases, the latter where possible. We do not here touch the essential unity of the Church - its unity as an organism ... The unity of which we have heard Bramhall speaking might be the unity of essentially separate bodies, united in some sort of a complicated system of communication."[2]

Lacey does not suggest that visible unity is essential to the given unity: he is simply saying that the visible expression of the essential must necessarily be a whole, not a fragmented one. This is certainly the point made when he adds that "His argument might have been sounder had he based the need more clearly upon the essential unity, of which moral unity is the right manifestation."[3]

Form and essence assume their proper relationship in Lacey's comments upon Pearson and Barrow in the same book. For Pearson, he says, the Church,

> "is held together by bonds, partly visible, as her origin, the sacraments, and the Episcopate; partly invisible - the bonds of faith, and hope, and charity. It will follow, though the inference

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1. Ibid., p.26.
2. Ibid., pp.82-83.
3. Ibid., p.85.

> was beside the scope of Pearson's work, that just as the practical holiness of the Church, however imperfect, is the expression of her essential and inherent holiness, so also the moral unity of the Church is the expression more or less perfect, more or less visible, of her indefectible essential unity."[1]

And concerning Barrow's doctrine of unity:

> "It is clear that Barrow has in view that moral unity which is to be attained by submission to the will of God. The essential unity or numerical oneness of the Church is postulated - the unity of the field, the floor, or the draw-net. What is to be sought is the effective unity of those who are contained as members in the one Church; and these are the grounds to go upon."[2]

Whereas Lacey is unwilling to postulate any division in the essential unity, the visible unity is something not yet achieved, having a moral relationship to the essential:

> "It is a moral as distinct from a natural, a functional as distinct from an organic unity. It is the result of an effort, on the part either of the individual or of the community, to live in correspondence with the divine grace of unity. Its principle is charity."[3]

In his later work there is no change in this general perspective. All must begin with unity; and unless one is willing to identify this unity with one visible Church, it must be an end towards which the various communions can move. The essential unity of the Spirit must find a visible response in the restored "bond of peace."[4] In

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1. Ibid., p.99.
2. Ibid., p.110. Lacey passed over all the Tractarians to choose William Palmer for his support in the contemporary period. He did not, evidently, believe that Palmer's conception of the branch theory was the one which he rejected, though I cannot agree with him.
3. Ibid., p.155.
4. Cf. The One Body and the One Spirit (London: 1925).

his apology for the Lambeth Appeal, Lacey significantly selects the following passage as the most important:

> "We believe that it is God's purpose to manifest this fellowship, so far as this world is concerned, in an outward, visible, and united society..."[1]

He argues that the Universal Church into which all Christians are admitted by baptism, must be distinguished from the Catholic Church in which certain forms expressive of the essential unity are preserved. He feels that the Appeal is rightly attempting to bring the two as closely together as is humanly possible:

> "They set these two ideas over against each other, but not in too sharp a contrast; they look forward to a 'visible unity of the whole Church' which would identify it with that 'outward, visible, and united society' which is the intensive Catholic Church; and conversely, their reference to the purpose of God implies that 'the Catholic Church' in its perfection would be identical with 'the universal Church of Christ.' So only can the purpose of God be fulfilled."[2]

Whereas the Tractarian and sub-Tractarian ecumenists looked to the past to find a given visible unity, Lacey looked forward to it as an ideal, an aim: "In fine, the Catholic Church is not a fact of present experience, but an ideal of aspiration... it is assuredly a vision of many days."[3] The significance of this disparity in perspective cannot be overemphasized - in fact it created a division among

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1. The Universal Church: A Study in the Lambeth Call to Union (London: 1921), p.1.
2. Ibid., pp.3-4.
3. Ibid., p.6.

Anglo-Catholic ecumenists themselves.[1]

Weston, never entirely consistent, was more reluctant to separate in any way the visible body from the essential unity of the Godhead. The visible was simply a part of the great cosmic process of atonement: it was a part of God's plan, not simply a testimony to it. He was reluctant to distinguish between the essential and the visible, but in the end was forced to do so. "Vital religion," he said, "is to be studied first as life in the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, the brotherhood of the Church; and the Ministry with its organization and hierarchy is part and parcel of that fellowship, being the expression in human, visible form, here and now of some spiritual reality in the heavenly places."[2] Though the accidental Church is a necessary expression of the atonement, it does not, in fact, always take the visible forms of the Church (faith,

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1. In the early twentieth century there was much evidence of fundamental disagreement. On the question of the Appeal itself Liberal Catholics like Lacey, Gore, Bicknell, and even Weston supported it while certain spokesmen of the English Church Union who stood in line with the sub-Tractarian ecumenical tradition, men like Stone, Pullan, and Halifax, were critical of it, or interpreted it in such a way as to change its whole meaning; e.g., they would sometimes ignore its primary interest in non-episcopalian communions and make a great deal of its brief comments on the necessity of including Rome in any long range plans for reunion. Disagreement on ecumenical issues resulted in the withdrawl of the Anglican Papalists after the controversy concerning the Papal telegram at the second Anglo-Catholic Congress (1923).
2. Fulness of Christ, p.24.

structure, and sacraments). Therefore the work of atonement is distinguished from the visible forms which then assume a moral relationship to the accidental Church. In refuting the papal theory, he is very anxious that the Church should not be identified with these forms, lest it be severed from its essential continuity with the glorified dead - a continuity essential to his view of the atonement as a cosmic process. It is in this context that he says:

> "We must refuse to lay so much stress upon the visible Church, and re-emphasize the truth that the greater part of her is invisible. And we shall believe the Church to be one because essentially she is the Lord Christ Himself, who changes not and cannot be divided. His mind is her one Faith, His Sacrifice and loving Service her one Worship, His will her one Government, His life her Sacramental Grace, and His atoning Love within her her one fellowship of Love."[1]

But to this there must be a visible witness: "The human expression of this unity is, invisibly, in the members of His Body who are beyond the Veil, and, visibly in those who are still on earth; but invisible or visible it is a true, external, human expression of a real unity, and is constituted in the Apostolate and Episcopate."[2]

Most Liberal Catholic theologians accepted this idea of a moral relationship between essential and visible unity. Bicknell spoke of the great value of visible unity as "a moral discipline."[3] Of the general relation of forms

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1. Ibid., pp.334-335.
2. Ibid., p.335.
3. Theological Introduction, p.238.

to the essence, Fr Kelly said:

> "Personally I have maintained that all religious forms are secondary in the true sense, since they are the outcome or expression of the relation between God and man, but it does not follow that they are unimportant. There are very many Church practices which we use and find helpful, but upon which we have no desire to insist. There are others which - although we could not call them the essence of Christianity - seem to us a necessary consequence, embodiment, presentation of that essence."[1]

The thesis of Kelly's book, from which we have just quoted, was that Church forms are necessary to the maintenance of those principles for which Evangelicalism stands. If there is an essential, given unity, the visible forms must testify to it: "it must be a visible unity, an organised body, a Church or institution of some kind."[2] And this principle stands in harmony with that of the Incarnation.[3] In a lecture before the English Church Union, N. P. Williams said that the Church as the extension of the Incarnation was, "the visible expression and embodiment of its Founder," which was gradually being drawn out "into lucid conceptual forms."[4] In a paper read to the Anglo-Catholic Congress of 1920, G. H. Clayton interpreted Christ's Highpriestly Prayer as pleading that "the unity of the spirit may find expression in the unity of the body."[5]

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1. Religious Unity, p.26.
2. Ibid., p.63.
3. Ibid., p.64.
4. The Kikuyu Opinion (London: 1915), p.8.
5. Report of the First Anglo-Catholic Congress (London: 1920), p.102.

As we have pointed out, the influence of Anglo-Catholic ecumenical thought upon Anglican ecumenics generally is nowhere so evident as in the Lambeth Appeal's adoption of this principle. The Conference's Encyclical Letter thus summarizes the message of that document:

> "In this Appeal we urge them [All Christian People] to try a new approach to reunion; to adopt a new point of view; to look up to the reality as it is in God. The unity which we seek exists. It is in God, Who is the perfection of unity, the one Father, the one Lord, the one Spirit, Who gives life to the one Body. Again the one Body exists. It needs not to be made, nor to be remade, but to become organic and visible. Once more, the fellowship of the members of the one Body exists. It is the work of God, not of man. We have only to discover it, and to set free its activities."[1]

The second question raised concerning the relationship between visible forms and essential unity, i.e., what are the obligations of individuals or Christian communities with respect to these forms?, has particular relevance to any proposed reunion between episcopal and non-episcopal churches. Among Anglo-Catholics there was little disagreement on this point, due to their almost universally positive answer to the soteriological question: can an individual be saved apart from the visible forms or notes of the Catholic Church? If he can be saved outside the visible Church, he can partake in the essential unity of Christ without it. Thus the relationship between the

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1. The Lambeth Conferences, 1867-1948 (London: 1948), p.25.

individual or community and particular visible forms or notes will always be moral. It is here that the distinction between soteriology and ecclesiology becomes significant. There were, nevertheless, important distinctions between the ways the major Anglo-Catholic schools described the position of those who did not adhere to the Catholic forms of dogma, structure, and sacrament.

The Tractarians, for all their antagonism to the "uncatholic" spirit of Dissent, only rarely questioned the possibility of their salvation. From time to time questions were raised about the validity of Nonconformist baptism,[1] and sometimes there was a tendency to suggest that though Dissenters were given real grace at baptism the failure to confirm that gift in the Catholic Church virtually nullified the fact; but on the whole they did not regard judgment upon the final destiny of any individual's soul to be a Catholic duty. They had inherited this attitude from Anglican tradition. It was a reflection of the English Church's tendency to safeguard its own forms without judging upon those of others. Where the Tractarians broke with this tradition was in not allowing these bodies, particularly those on the Continent, to be considered a portion of the visible Church. They had no rights of communion. Anglicans had often said this about Dissent, but

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1. Cf., below, Ch. V, p.478ff.

had usually been ambiguous in defining the precise ecclesiological status of those beyond British shores.[1]

In the forty-seventh Tract, as we have seen, Newman answered the charge that his system excluded Dissenters from salvation with a flat denial; but his explanation of the answer would not have comforted the Dissenter: "Where little is given, little will be required."[2] It cannot be said, he continues, that saints exist only in the Church: "We dare not deny that, in spite of our peculiar privileges of communion with Christ, yet even higher saints may lie hid (to our great shame) among those who have not themselves the certainty of our especial approaches to His glorious majesty."[3] Newman did not significantly distinguish between pagans and Dissenters in this discussion - we have quoted elsewhere his reference to a graduated scale from polytheists to Catholics.[4] At another place he answers the same question with the doctrine of election: "There are in every age a certain number of souls in the world, known to God, unknown to us, who will obey the Truth when offered to them, whatever be the mysterious reason that they do and others do not."[5]

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1. Cf. A. J. Mason, The Church of England and Episcopacy (Cambridge: 1914), for an excellent discussion of this subject from an Anglo-Catholic point of view.
2. Tracts, Vol. II, p.2.
3. Ibid., p.3.
4. Cf., above, p.166.
5. Quoted in Brilioth, Anglican Revival (p.261), from "The Visible Church for the Sake of the Elect," Parochial and Plain Sermons, Vol. IV, No. 18, p.153.

In his letter to the Bishop of Oxford, Pusey assumes the typical Tractarian position: the state of the non-episcopalians is sinful because they have rejected a divine ordinance, but the exact import or degree of that sin cannot be judged.[1] It can be said that they have not received the commission to administer the sacraments, but one cannot be sure when God may give some degree of efficacy to irregular sacraments.[2] Pusey's views, like Newman's, would hardly be a comfort to the Dissenter - even though he was granted salvability:

> "No doubt there are also other ways [besides those of the Church] of entering into communion with God. 'Yet as the life of an Archangel is higher than the life of a worm, although both are upheld in life by Him, so has He, in the stores of His Sacramental Grace, a Fulness of Life and Love, an ineffable Presence, "torrents of Pleasure," a soul-subduing awful Nearness, and a transporting Union, as different from that which He bestows at earlier stages, as the Archangel's life from that of us poor defiled worms on earth.'"[3]

Palmer, in his Treatise, said that though the position of Continental Protestants was precarious and in some sense cut off from the Church, they were not beyond the pale of salvation.[4] W. F. Hook, another High Churchman of Palmer's stamp, was of the same opinion: "As we may preach that faith in the Lord Jesus is

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1. Letter to Oxford, p.150.
2. Ibid., p.152.
3. Brilioth, Anglican Revival, p.322.
4. Treatise, Vol. I, p.33.

necessary to salvation, without denying the salvability of the heathen, so none will refuse to admire and reverence and love the pious and consistent Christian of every communion, whether Romish or Protestant; none - God forbid, - will doubt of his being capable of salvation, though we may still believe that in many respects he may have fallen short of gospel truth."[1]

Gore was quite definite. He would not countenance any suggestion that salvation was dependent on membership in the Catholic Church: "To our consciences to-day such a belief seems simply impossible of acceptance, whatever authority may be held to propagate it."[2] He preferred to say that "salvation has a double meaning."[3] The power of sin is strong, and men persist in resisting the light: but on the other hand all that God can ask of man is "fidelity to the best light given him."[4] He would not be saved by the system which he professed, but through God's grace he would be saved in it.[5] In his earlier book, The Church and the Ministry, the same position was taken: "Men are dealt with according to their opportunities; and as God's

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1. A Call to Union on the Principles of the English Reformation (London: 1838), pp.34-35.
2. Anglo-Catholic Movement, p.19. This is a particularly interesting statement not only because of the reference to "conscience" but also because Gore has just identified "whatever authority" with "the tradition of Catholicism from very early days." Ibid., p.18.
3. Ibid., p.20.
4. Ibid., p.21.
5. Ibid.

love is not limited by His covenant, so He can work through ministrations which are not 'valid' - that is, ministrations which have not the security of the covenant."[1]

Earl Nelson said that Churchmen must recognize that God's grace cannot be limited, even by given Church forms, but that it "overflows His channels of Grace."[2] And, "We do not deny that there may be other ministrations and other gifts of the Spirit to help forward the Kingdom; but we cannot allow the belief of those that have gone before, or of the vast majority of the baptized militant here on earth, to be considered as 'utterly blasphemous.'"[3] And again: "We are prepared to allow that all duly baptized are members of the Church Catholic who have not been subsequently excommunicated or who have not practically excommunicated themselves; and as to the workings of the Holy Spirit outside duly ordered organisation, we are willing to accept it."[4]

Bicknell observed that since St. Augustine recognized the validity of the schismatic Donatist sacraments, and since the Primitive Church had accepted the validity of

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1. The Church and the Ministry (3rd ed., London: 1936), p.92.
2. Home Reunion (London: 1905), p.26. Quoted with approbation from Prof. Collins.
3. Ibid., p.223.
4. Ibid., p.227.

heretical baptisms, the conclusion must be drawn that, "In some sense, therefore, it was possible to be in Christ and yet outside the one visible community of the Church."[1] This conclusion was based upon his baptismal doctrine: "If they have been duly baptized they are members of the Catholic Church and their separation from the Church is usually due to no fault of their own."[2]

D. Stone and F. W. Puller, critics of the Appeal who stood in the sub-Tractarian tradition, though refusing to admit non-episcopalians into the visible Church, do not pre-judge the state of their souls: "Nor, again, are we considering what degree of moral righteousness and power may be attained by baptized persons who are estranged from the legitimate ministry: or by those who reject the Sacraments, as the Society of Friends; or by pagans who respond to such light as they possess. God Himself is not bound."[3]

Knox was only willing to say that the Church offers "the best 'way of salvation'",[4] not that there is no possibility of salvation outside it, while Leighton Pullan went so far as to say that, "We know that any baptized person who is living in good faith, though separated from

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1. Theological Introduction, p.236.
2. Ibid., p.242.
3. Who Are Members of the Church? (London: 1921), p.9.
4. The Catholic Movement, p.58.

the Church, may reach a higher place in heaven than ourselves."[1]

It is obvious from this discussion that their position was the logical conclusion of their doctrines of grace and baptism.

The Anglo-Catholics were just as explicit in their exclusion of these individuals or communities from membership in the visible Church, however. The investigation of their reasons for doing so is the primary purpose of the remaining chapters in this Thesis. In brief, the exclusion of these bodies resulted from their failure to accept the forms necessary to the visible Church. In his Lux Mundi essay, Lock explained it this way:

> "It would be unreal to apply this conception of a complete historic brotherhood to those who have separated themselves from the Church's worship, and whose boast is that they were founded by Wesley, or Luther, or Calvin. A Church so founded is not historically founded by Christ. It may have been founded to carry on the work of Christ, it may have been founded in imitation of Him, and with the sincerest loyalty to His person, but it cannot be said to have been founded by Him. Even if circumstances have justified it, it is at any rate not the ideal; and whatever confessions the historic Church may have to make of its own shortcomings, it still must witness to the ideal of a visible unity and historical continuity."[2]

Gore, in his little book The Mission of the Church, said that while one could not question the state of a Non-

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1. Missionary Principles, p.37.
2. Lux Mundi, p.383.

conformist's soul in the sight of God, the fact remained that he did not accept the God-given Church.[1] This, in fact, was an argument often used by Newman. It was not the Church that was unchurching Dissenters, he used to say, but the Dissenters, by rejecting any notion of the visible Church, unchurched themselves. Gore suggested that the primary point at which the Nonconformist falls short is in the doctrine of apostolic succession. But this, he was careful to say, is a matter of "constitution," not "salvation":

> "... the modern High Churchman taught by experience has returned to the simply ancient doctrine of the apostolic succession as necessary not indeed to the salvation of an individual, but to the constitution of the Church."[2]

Gore believed that this was a more charitable position than that adopted by the Carolinian divines, who did, in fact, question the salvability of the individual who was separated from the apostolic ministry in Britain.[3] It would also have to be pointed out that Gore's own position was more charitable than that of many of his modern Anglo-Catholic fellows. But one must not overestimate Gore's generosity in this respect. Though this writer has not seen reference to it, H. L. Stewart said that,

> "... one of the similies which Bishop Gore delights

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1. The Mission of the Church (London: 1892), p.vii.
2. Ibid., p.159.
3. This position was taken only in relation to British Nonconformity, not Continental Protestantism.

> to use is that in which the non-episcopalian Churches are likened to Samaria, and those in the succession of the historic episcopate to Judea [Samaria emphasized the book while Judea also accepted sacred tradition, the Mt. Gerizim temple was the product of schism, etc.]... The similitude is made to bear an immense burden of evidence. So he contends that the Churches of episcopal government differ from others just as Judea differed from Samaria, and all those divine benefits which are 'covenanted' for the true ecclesiastical order are uncovenanted - if at all available - for the rest."[1]

Lacey, though anxious to define the Catholic Church in both an "extensive" and "intensive" sense, would not give non-episcopalians a place in the intensive Catholic Church because they rejected its proper forms.[2] Weston made much the same point: non-episcopalian bodies cannot claim to be branches of the visible Church. He compared them to the Ulster Volunteer Force trying to call itself a branch of King George's army. No matter how loyal subjects, no matter how dedicated in their fight for the King, they could not be called a part of his army because they did not enlist themselves under the authority of the officers of the army that bears the King's commission. They therefore actually oppose the policy of the King:

> "So with the non-episcopalian Churches, their members are Christian, by baptism members of

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1. A Century of Anglo-Catholicism (London: 1929), p.258. Stewart was one of the very few non-Anglicans to attempt a sympathetic study of Anglo-Catholicism in our period. Y. Brilioth, of course, is another notable example.
2. Lacey was, however, more flexible than many with respect to the exact composition of those forms. Cf., below, Ch. IV, p. 436ff.

> the Kingdom, loyal to the King according to their present mind, zealous, moral, even holy and saintly; claiming to be branches of the Catholic Church of their King. But they have omitted to enlist themselves under the authority of the Bishops who hold the King's commission, and their claim fails."[1]

In an apology for the Appeal, of which Weston was a joint author, the same position was adopted. Episcopacy is necessary to the visible unity of the Church but not to salvation.[2] Pullan, who entertained the possibility of a high heavenly destiny for non-episcopalians,[3] and who was willing to say that "they are beyond question members of Christ,"[4] nevertheless insisted that their rejection of the Catholic Church system put them outside the visible Church: "And whether the Archbishop expresses himself in Latin or in English, we refuse quietly and resolutely to accept the view that Church systems of human invention, invented in order to thwart the Church, are not to be regarded as extra ecclesiam."[5] Instead of defining salvation in two ways, as Gore did, or giving two meanings to the term Catholic Church, as Lacey did, Pullan has managed to find two definitions for the phrase "members of Christ." The separation between soteriology and ecclesiology could not be more complete.

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1. The Case Against Kikuyu (London: 1914), p.63.
2. Lambeth and Reunion, p.74.
3. Cf., above, p.224f.
4. Missionary Principles, p.21.
5. Ibid., p.52.

It is clear from the above quotations that the evidences of the working of the Holy Spirit in non-episcopalian bodies, an argument which carries much weight in some modern ecumenical literature, does not really enter into their thought concerning the status of such bodies, except to be rejected as irrelevant. This was an argument used by critics of Anglo-Catholic ecclesiology from Tractarian days onward. Their answer was always the simple one given by Darwell Stone:

> "This is not to deny that such religious bodies may be in the possession of many spiritual graces, or may attain to a high standard of spiritual life, or may receive great and remarkable gifts from God. Those who act in good will may receive much divine blessing even though, from whatever set of circumstances, they have not realized the claims which the covenanted system of God's appointment makes upon them."[1]

In summary, then, Anglo-Catholicism was never eager to make a soteriological judgment against those whose forms were, in their view, defective, though, unlike many of the earlier Anglican High Churchmen, they were quite ready to judge against them as valid churches. This, of course, accentuates the characteristic distinction between the essential unity of all the redeemed, and the unity which is the testimony in given visible forms to God's nature and plan.

It has nevertheless been evident that they used the

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1. The Notes of the Church (London: 1910), p.103.

strongest terms to describe the moral obligation, under which the individual Christian stands, to embrace those visible forms which have been given by God to ensure, among other things, the unity of the Church. Kelly was quite willing to admit that "all religious forms are secondary in the true sense, since they are the outcome or expression of the relation between God and man, but," he continues, "it does not follow that they are unimportant."[1] To say that the essential unity of the Church is invisible does not imply that the visible unity is the less necessary, "but the valuation is different."[2] This is the heart of the Anglo-Catholic position. What they were anxious to reject was any notion that the essential unity need not be expressed in visible form, i.e., the idea that the creedal note of unity refers to the invisible sphere alone. Their criticism of the Protestant doctrine of the invisible Church began during the Oxford Movement itself. The whole third chapter of the first part of Palmer's Treatise was devoted to this subject.[3] A number of the Tracts followed the same line. The Liberal Catholics also attacked that doctrine with feeling. Kelly said that while unity of agreement corresponded to a tritheistic Godhead, "invisible unity only" corresponded to Pantheism: there

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1. The Church and Religious Unity, p.26.
2. Ibid., p.157.
3. Palmer believed that the Reformers themselves would have repudiated the doctrine.

"must be a visible unity, an organized body, a Church or institution of some kind."[1] Since there is virtual unanimity on this point, and since it is implied in our previous discussion of the relationship between the material and the spiritual, we will only briefly consider Lacey's arguments in a summary treatment of the subject. He wrote at considerable length on this doctrine because he felt, quite correctly, that it was behind much contemporary ecumenical effort. His treatment is representative.

He devoted a section of his book, The Unity of the Church, to answering the question: "Do we console ourselves with the fiction of an invisible Church which is one throughout the world, of which the true members are known only to God?" This, he believed, was the doctrine underlying the Evangelical Alliance and the denominational theory. According to this theory the alliances, divisions, quarrels, between Christian bodies have no genuine relationship to the unity of the invisible Church. Lacey believed that the English Church, quite to the contrary, had refused to recognize the Church as only invisible.[2]

In a later work, Unity and Schism, he considers the question in its ecumenical context, i.e., in relation to

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1. Op. cit., p.63.
2. Article XIX and the eleventh canon of the Synod of London, 1604, are used to support this contention.

currently popular reunion schemes - federation, cooperation, etc. The theory of the invisible unity of the Church, he believed, resulted in Independency - at least this was its logical conclusion. Those who negotiate from this position regard the ecumenical task as a voluntary relinquishment of sovereign rights for the good of mankind, not as a necessary embodiment of a given unity. He attributes this doctrine to Luther.[1] The universal Church, according to this position, is known only to the secret counsel of God as those redeemed and saved in Christ out of mankind. Not even they recognize one another, and, if at all, imperfectly. Their unity is none the less assured. There is no visible counterpart to this invisible Church - and this, as we have seen, is the point at which the Anglo-Catholic would begin to disagree. True, Lacey continued, they believe that there is a spiritual affinity of those who are members, an affinity which draws them together, but the forms of grouping would be conditioned by local circumstances only. In some sense every such group partakes of the qualities of the universal Church, with the result that the visible "will be but an imperfect image of the invisible."[2] Since this is so, the visible churches will partake in some measure, so goes the theory, of the unity of the invisible; therefore divisions will be sinful. The

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1. Unity and Schism, p.99.
2. Ibid., p.100.

local group partakes of the nature of the whole in the same degree as any combination of groups. This can result in the parish system. He makes an interesting comparison, at this point, between this and the Cyprianic view.[1] But the doctrine also developed into the theory of the gathered Church. Its result was Independency and a revolt, in Britain, against the parish system. In this system, however much there might be resistence to separation, "the procedure of separation is normal, and not irregular."[2] It nevertheless does have a theory of schism. Unreasonable and unnecessary separation, party spirit within a congregation, and the denial of the rights of an independent church are all condemned. And, "what the Gathered Church was to the sixteenth century, the Denominational Church is to this twentieth century."[3]

> "So we come to a sectional conception of Christendom. Unity is only of the Spirit, and it is not sought in anything resembling a bond of peace. What way is there out of this anarchy?"[4]

This study of what Anglo-Catholicism is rejecting in its ecumenical theology is extremely important in understanding its own insistence upon the necessary connection between the visible, unified, form of the Church and the essential, invisible unity, and, therefore, the obligation of

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1. Ibid., p.99.
2. Ibid., p.110.
3. Ibid., p.113.
4. Ibid., p.114.

Christians to join themselves to those visible forms which not only express the essential reality, but which have been expressly given for that purpose. The visible Church is a part of God's plan, and that plan is to provide men with normal, covenanted channels for approaching the unity of the Godhead.

Anglo-Catholics relied heavily upon historical and scriptural studies to support their claims. The Liberal Catholics admitted that the records were not so clear as to leave no doubt, but they did believe that they were clear enough to make it a risky business to reject them. The burden of making an absolute case rested upon those who would reject the forms which had been regarded as necessary through at least fifteen centuries of the Church's history. The principle of tutiorism was freely and often invoked. In the Apologia Newman says that very early in his life he came to the conclusion that things could only be known as probable:

> "I say, that I believed in God on a ground of probability, that I believed in Christianity on a probability, and that I believed in Catholicism on a probability, and that all three were about the same kind of probability, a cumulative, a transcendent probability, but still probability; inasmuch as He who made us, has so willed that in mathematics indeed we arrive at certitude by rigid demonstration, but in religious inquiry we arrive at certitude by accumulated probabilities."[1]

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1. Apologia, p.324.

Elsewhere he used a simile to describe doubt: "Doubt, he said, was like the discrepancy between a tuned piano and the ideal scale; you cannot exclude it, but you must nevertheless tune the piano."[1] This anticipates the Anglo-Catholic habit of arguing from probabilities, or from a priori grounds. In Tract 45 Newman applies the principle to the doctrine of episcopacy - and thus also anticipates many followers. Many people study the Scriptures and find no such doctrine there, but, Newman contends,

> "Here comes in the operation of that principle of faith in opposition to criticism,... the principle of being content with a little light, where we cannot obtain sunshine. If it is probably pleasing to Christ, let us maintain it."[2]

He goes on to argue that people act on this principle in relation to baptism, i.e., they baptize their children though the Scripture nowhere specifically enjoins it:

> "as they baptize their children, because it is safer to observe than to omit the sacrament, did they also keep to the Church as the safer side. The received practice, then, of infant baptism seems a final answer to all who quarrel with the Scripture evidence for Episcopacy."[3]

The same principle was adopted by Gore. His sacramental theology is based upon it: "But what is meant by valid sacraments?... the opposite of secure or valid is not

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1. Faber, Oxford Apostles, p.57.
2. "The Grounds of Faith," Tracts, Vol. I, pp.4-5.
3. Ibid., p.5.

non-existent but precarious."[1] Pusey had said, in fact, that this very principle was behind the whole Oxford Movement: "This is the ground which we have taken, not involving ourselves and others needlessly in questions as to God's dealings with others, but providing, as far as in us lay, for the safety of our own people."[2]

This was always the last word, and possibly the most charitable word, that the Anglo-Catholics spoke concerning their ecumenical responsibility - a word built upon the separation of ecclesiology from soteriology. The following chapters will consider the forms of dogma, structure, and sacrament which they considered necessary to any true Church - whether it be the Catholic churches taken together as in the branch theory, or a new fuller Church continuous with those who had preserved Catholic truth in any way, but identifiable with no particular one. We will not find unanimity in detail, or consistency in emphasis, but we will find that among all those men who contributed to Anglo-Catholic ecumenical theology prior to Lambeth 1920, there was complete agreement on the general principle that God has given, through Christ and the Apostles, certain visible forms which were to preserve the unity of His people in faith, in obedience, and in God's grace. The doctrine of unity meant much more than simply this, but it meant this also.

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1. Mission of the Church, p.26.
2. Letter to Oxford, p.154.

Chapter III: Dogmatic Unity

The dogmatic principle, though variously interpreted, was the cornerstone of Anglo-Catholic theology in the nineteenth century. Tractarianism had been firmly rooted in the belief that truth was one, and that it had been given by God in a propositional form. To some this was the very meaning of the word Catholic. Though less emphasis was placed on this type of dogmatism in the early twentieth century Liberal Catholic thought, there remained with them a firm conviction that certain principles had been revealed by God as necessary to the visible form of His Church. But even more fundamental than any actual dogmatic system was the common Anglo-Catholic emphasis upon the necessity of definite religious authority. In one sense this was a reaction to the liberal and scientific spirit which had reduced all truth to a personal relativism, but it was also a positive element in the religious philosophy which we have discussed in the preceding chapter. This chapter will, therefore, consider the root problem first - that of authority - before passing on to its more concrete expression in dogmatic forms.

Part I: Authority

Since the Reformation the practical authority of the Church of England had rested first with the Crown and then with the Parliament. All the Church's powers of discipline,

appointment, and legislation, had come to be vested in the civil arm, and the Convocations had not been operative for nearly a century and a half. So long as Parliament could rightly be called a Synod of the Church there was little real resistance to this arrangement within the Church itself. The whole situation was typically English: the Church drifted along on its traditions without strong governing principles. Its unity was the unity of the nation. By the 1820's, however, changes were taking place that altered the very foundations of this system. While the English had avoided the extremes of the French Revolution, there was a mounting demand for reform in the early nineteenth century. One effect of this new spirit was the removal of the ecclesiastical restrictions upon membership in Parliament.[1] Another was a growing interest in Church reform. Churchmen, largely associated with the upper stratum of society, looked on aghast: a Parliament which was no longer "Church of England" had begun to meddle with that Church. A Bill proposing the reorganization of the Irish Church, though a common sense solution to a degenerating situation in Ireland, was looked upon as the beginning of the end by these men. It was evident that the Church must once again establish its right to rule itself. It was in this spirit that a group of men met in the Hadleigh rectory of H. J. Rose in 1833, and that was

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1. Cf., above, Ch. I, p.1ff.

the beginning of the Oxford Movement.

It was widely believed that the disestablishment of the Church was imminent, and these men felt that they must be prepared to reestablish its authority along more essentially spiritual lines. They were horrified by the thought of simply becoming one among the many existing religious communities of England. The idea was antagonistic to their whole conception of religion. "Look at the Dissenters on all sides of you," said Newman in the first Tract, "and you will see at once that their Ministers, depending simply upon the people become the creatures of the people... Can a greater evil befall Christians, than for their teachers to be guided by them, instead of guiding?"[1] The first practical alternative to suggest itself to these men was the revival of episcopal authority. This authority, as they conceived it, was founded upon the doctrine of apostolic succession and administered through the oath of canonical obedience take by each clergyman at his ordination. At this stage of the Movement the episcopate was primarily a practical alternative to the Establishment.[2] It was not, however, their original intention to do away with the Establishment, they simply assumed that it would be done by others. It was only later,

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1. Tracts, Vol. I.
2. Cf., below, Ch. IV, p.366ff, for a more extensive discussion of this subject.

when the crisis was over and it became obvious that many Churchmen were prepared to continue the previous arrangement as if nothing had happened, that they began to campaign actively for disestablishment. From the very beginning their real concern was that the Church seemed to be losing the very idea of authority. H. L. Stewart summarized this aspect of the Movement thus:

> "Their appeal was to a Church still nominally established, but conscious of its fast waning strength. Why was it in such a peril? The answer of Tracts was that the Church was failing, not because her claims had been pitched too high for public endurance, but because they had been to low for public inspiration."[1]

And, "They were a manifesto against the policy of drift."[2] This was one of Anglo-Catholicism's most valuable contributions to the Church of England: it insisted that the Church should stand for something. This attitude of oposition to the undisciplined reform spirit of the day gained an early support for the Movement, which, however, fell away when it became obvious that things were not so dark as they had seemed. How well Faber put it:

> "The Apostolicals were riding the crest of a wave. But, as they were to discover before many years had passed, the wave itself was not Apostolical. It was orthodoxy in a panic."[3]

Though the practical nature of its early program can

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1. A Century of Anglo-Catholicism, p.111.
2. Ibid., p.112.
3. Oxford Apostles, p.350.

account for the Movement's support among the "frightened orthodox," it does not explain the real significance of the Tractarian authoritarianism. S. Hall rightly takes exception to Dean Church's statement that the Movement rose "in a vigorous effort for the immediate defense of the Church against serious dangers arising from the violent and threatening temper of the days of the Reform Bill." The real causes of the Movement were not political: "The real danger threatened was that arising from the spirit of liberalism which had arisen. Liberalism was the enemy."[1]

It was no simple coincidence that the principal leaders of the Revival were connected with Oriel College. That college - one of the first to conduct open examinations for its fellowships - was the seat of Rationalism in the University:

> "A school arose whose conceit led them to imagine that their wisdom was sufficient to correct and amend the whole world. The Church itself produced some such vain reasoners, who with boundless freedom began to investigate all institutions, to search into the basis of religious doctrines, and to put forth each his wild theory or irreverential remark. All was pretended to be for the benefit of free discussion, which was substituted for the claims of truth. This school came from Oriel College."[2]

In his Memoirs Mark Patterson thus describes the anti-authoritarian bias of the Noetics, as they were called:

"The Noetics knew nothing of the philosophical

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1. A Short History, p.118.
2. W. Palmer, Narrative, pp.19-20.

> movement that was taking place on the Continent... yet this knot of Oriel men was distinctly the product of the French Revolution. They called everything into question; they appealed to first principles and disallowed authority as a judge in intellectual matters. There was a wholesome ferment constantly maintained in the Oriel Commonroom."[1]

Newman, Froude, Keble, and Pusey were all members of that commonroom; and its spirit was the primary cause of the Revival, not the political events of the time. The Reform Bill Parliament was simply a warning to the future Tractarians that the principles for which the Noetics stood were spreading throughout English society. Newman's Apologia makes it quite clear that this was the issue:

> "... my battle was with Liberalism; by Liberalism I meant the anti-dogmatic principle and its developments... From the age of fifteen, dogma has been the fundamental principle of my religion: I know no other religion: I cannot enter into the idea of any other sort of religion: religion, as a mere sentiment, is to me a dream and a mockery... Such was the fundamental principle of the Movement of 1833."[2]

It was this, not the Parliament, that would destroy the Church: "She must be dealt with strongly, or she would be lost. There was need of a second Reformation."[3] And it would be a struggle calling upon the total resources of the Church, regardless of party connection. Of his work in distributing the first Tracts, Newman said: "I did not

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1. Quoted in Hall, Op. cit., pp.47-48.
2. Apologia, pp.120-121.
3. Ibid., p.95.

care whether my visits were made to High Church or Low Church: I wished to make a strong pull in union with all who were opposed to the principles of Liberalism, whoever they might be."[1] All the men involved in the early stages of the Movement agreed on this principle. Describing the Movement generally, W. G. Ward's biographer said: "... the intellectual direction of the Oxford school was opposed to the principles of liberalism."[2] In his Narrative Palmer, though critical of the direction taken by the Movement in its later stages, agreed thus far: "It may be remembered here that the spirit of faith which in 1833 came to replace the Spirit of Latitudinarian and Rationalistic or Neologian Infidelity produced one blessed effect. For twenty years it suppressed and terminated the wild sceptical theories which had preceded it."[3] Liddon's biographer agreed: "If you crush

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1. Quoted in Church, Oxford Movement, p.105.
2. W. Ward, W. G. Ward, p.56.
3. Narrative, p.32. It is interesting to note that in looking back over the Movement from the perspective of fifty years, Palmer felt that some of the very principles they were fighting had crept into the Revival itself. In reference to Newman's decision to publish Tracts on an individual rather than group basis, he said: "It seemed to me that the unbounded freedom of speculation and argument which formed the basis of the system, did not very well harmonize with the dogmatic and objective basis upon which it rested; and that, as it was identical in essence with the spirit of the philosophic systems of the nineteenth century, so it might have the result of turning Christianity itself into another form of philosophy... the rational character of Anglican theology, the solid reasoning, the acute logic, of elder writers, too often gave way to new methods derived from philosophical speculation, the bold assumption,

Tractarianism you must fight 'Germanism.'"[1] This principle influenced Anglo-Catholic thought throughout our period - though with considerably less force in the early twentieth century when the dominant group called themselves "Liberal Catholics." As late as 1884, just five years before the publication of Lux Mundi, Athelstan Riley, an active sub-Tractarian layman, wrote to F. G. Lee as follows:

> "The danger of the Catholic Movement in the Church of England is that it may degenerate into mere Sacramentalism and lose the foundation of Catholicism, respect for Authority. I am sure that this cannot be too often insisted upon. Liberalism and Catholicism are as distinct as ice from fire, and a Liberal-Catholic is simply a Latitudinarian with certain sacramental opinions.
> "I am anti-Liberal ('Conservative' and 'Tory' do not express what I mean) simply because I am a Christian man; and I have never yet known a man with really Liberal principles who was thoroughly sound on matters of faith."[2]

Before the Movement was very old the Tractarians - or Apostolicals, as they preferred to call themselves - came to grips with Liberalism on a practical level. Early in 1834 a proposal to eliminate religious tests as a condition of matriculation came before the University.[3]

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the brilliant theory, the far-fetched analogy, the needless concession which springs from over confidence in the power of intellect, the rejection of sound logic and accurate reasoning as too tame and trite to meet the demands of an ambitious dialectic, which has been described as an 'intellectual legerdemain.'" "Oxford Movement," Contemporary Review, XLIII (May, 1883), p.657.
1. Johnston, H. P. Liddon, p.67.
2. Quoted in Brandreth, Dr. Lee, pp.142-143.
3. All entering students were required to subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles.

Though they were not alone in opposing this proposition, the Tractarians were extremely active in doing so. Their most noteworthy opponent was Dr. R. D. Hampden. He argued that to insist upon allegiance to the Thirty-Nine Articles as a condition of matriculation was to confuse "Divine facts" with man's apprehension of those facts. But such subtle arguments were in advance of the Oxford of that day and the proposal was defeated.

In 1836 the wider issue of Liberalism was raised once again when Hampden was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity without reference to recommendations made by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Those who hold that the Tractarian resistence to this appointment was simply a case of sour grapes - Newman had been a likely candidate - miss the real point. Not only had the wishes of the Church been ignored in appointing Hampden to what was an ecclesiastically significant professorship - he would have to pass final judgment upon every candidate for the priesthood passing out of Oxford, - but this man himself stood for the growing body of Rationalist opinion in the University. It was against this that they protested. Of this appointment and its effect, Church said: "... the writer who had just a second time seemed to lay the axe to the root of all theology;[1] who had just reasserted that he looked upon

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1. This must be a reference to the Religious Tests controversy, not the Bampton Lectures of 1832.

creeds, and all the documents which embodied the traditional doctrine and collective thought of the Church, as invested by ignorance and prejudice with an authority which was without foundation" had just been appointed to the most influential ecclesiastical post in the University.[1] The contest, Church said, was over authority - and authority meant a body of doctrine stamped with divine certainty: "... that the Church doctrine of some kind of special inspiration of Scripture is part of Christianity is, unless Christianity be a dream, certain."[2] Actually Hampden's Bampton Lectures which Newman immediately set out to expose for the heresy he thought them to be had been delivered without much notice from the Apostolicals four years earlier - in 1832.[3] Faber has an excellent summary of their import:

> "He conceived that the development of a complicated technical theology, resulting from the application of formal logic to Christianity, had been of immense disservice to religion. This vast pretentious structure was, he held, a masterpiece of ingenious self-deception. The theologians of the schools thought they were establishing religious truth by elaborate argumentation, when they were only multiplying and arranging a theological language... For Hampden the fundamental principle of religion was God's revelation of Himself through Christ, with its attendant moral teaching and historical facts; and the subsequent revelation in the soul

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1. Oxford Movement, p.138.
2. Ibid., p.143.
3. The Scholastic Philosophy considered in its relation to Christian Theology (3rd ed., Hereford: 1848).

of each believing Christian."[1]

It is to this idea that Newman refers in the seventy-third Tract:

> "There is a widely spread though variously admitted school of doctrine among us... which pretends and professes peculiar piety, as directing its attention to the heart itself, not to anything external to us, whether creed, actions or ritual. I do not hesitate to assert that this doctrine is based upon an error, that it is really a specious form of trusting man rather than God, that it is in its nature Rationalistic, and that it tends to Socinianism."[2]

The Tractarian demand for an external, authoritative stamp upon the theological foundations of their religion was basic, and a necessary corrective to their individualistic and introspective piety.[3] They required some assurance, as Churchmen, that this semi-mystical communion with God was not simply the product of subjective emotions. This was the function of authority.

The Tractarians did not imagine that this anti-authoritarian spirit was simply the product of their own age - of the French Revolution, or the German Rationalists, or the Noetics, or individuals like Hampden. They believed that its roots were in the Continental Reformation, and that the English Church had been subject to its influence in the sixteenth century. It had brought that spirit of independence so evident in Nonconformity. This theme often

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1. Oxford Apostles, p.337.
2. Tracts, Vol. III.
3. Cf., above, Ch. II, p.126ff.

recurs in Froude's writing. Of him Hall said: "He looked on Liberalism and not the Pope as Antichrist and on the Church as the Supreme ruler of the world, and on the Reformation as a rebellion against authority."[1] In a letter written in 1835 Froude said: "Really I hate the Reformation and the Reformers more and more, and have almost made up my mind that the rationalist spirit they set afloat is the [beast?] of the Revelations."[2] In the Preface to the second part of the Remains Newman also connects contemporary Rationalism with the Reformation: "Whatever praise and admiration may be due to individuals, both some of the principles of the movement which is called the Reformation, in the several countries of Europe, and in parts also the tone and character which is encouraged, were materially opposed to those of the early Church."[3] Even High Churchman H. J. Rose referred to this heritage as a curse for the same reason: "If it be Protestantism to doubt of every sacred truth, or at least to receive none with confidence, may that gracious Providence which has ever yet preserved our Church, preserve her still from the curse of Protestantism."[4] Newman believed that Protestant influence was responsible for the theological

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1. A Short History, p.62.
2. Remains, Part I, Vol. I, p.389.
3. Ibid., Part II, Vol. I (London: 1839), p.xxvii.
4. Quoted in Shaw, Early Tractarians (pp.29-30), from The State of Protestantism in Germany (2nd ed., 1829), p.29.

confusion in the Church of England, and it was the duty of the Oxford Revival to reintroduce a genuinely Catholic theology,[1] which would require a purge of Protestant ideas:

> "I fear I must express a persuasion that it requires no deep reading to dislike the Reformation. 'A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit'... whence all this schism and heresy, humanly speaking, but from it?
> "... I do not think Oakeley and Ward are eager on running down the Reformers for the sake of doing so, but as a feeling that our Church cannot be right till they are exposed, till their leaven is cast out, and till the Church repents of them."[2]

The Protestant spirit took its most objectionable form in the so-called doctrine of private judgment. In so far as this doctrine implied the rejection of all ecclesiastical authority it was anathema to the Tractarians. In his Lectures on the Prophetical Office of the Church, Newman thus defines the doctrine:

> "By the right of Private Judgment in matters of religious belief and practice, is ordinarily meant the prerogative, considered to belong to each individual Christian, of ascertaining and deciding for himself from Scripture what is Gospel truth, and what is not. This is the principle maintained in theory, as a sort of sacred possession or palladium, by Protestantism of this day."[3]

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1. Cf. Apologia, p.146.
2. This was a sentiment with which Newman was in full agreement. Quoted from a letter to Pusey in Liddon, Life, p.226.
3. Lectures, p.154. This was not an exaggerated statement of current views, as a statement E. A. Knox quotes from the Globe of 1833 indicates: "To set up one religion as true, and to brand another as false, by law, is to set up a human jurisdiction above the Protestant court of conscience.

In another place Newman quotes from an article by a Mr. Hunter Gordon in "a well known Scotch Magazine" (The Edinburgh Review ?) to illustrate the way in which this doctrine stands opposed to ecclesiastical authority:

> "'Protestantism,' he says, 'whose just boast it is to have set reason free from the fetters of ecclesiastical authority, is not a fixed or stationary principle. On the contrary, it is a state of rapid and irresistable progression; nor did it stop short or rest content with that measure of liberty of conscience which the Reformation established. Each age still carried the right of private judgment further than the preceding; and it is only within the memory of the present age that the minds of men, both here and on the Continent have begun to pause in their career of discursive reasoning and speculation, and to revert towards faith and authority.'"[1]

Though for Newman faith itself was an intensely personal relationship with God, he found it necessary to affirm its objective side - its external authority. In his second Tract on the Via Media (No. 41) he went to considerable pains to show how the English Church puts the

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No Christian sect can do this with consistency except the Roman Catholic. If Protestants persist then in doing it, they pave the way for what they most profess to dread, the return of Popery. Let us not then halt between two opinions. If we are Protestants we renounce human authority in matters of conscience. If we are to bow the knee to authority, let us bow to that which can claim the best title by prescription. Let us return to the infallible Church." Tractarian Movement, p.34.

1. Essays Critical and Historical, Vol. I (London: 1871), p.265. These essays were written while Newman was still an Anglican. He published them in 1871 in order that he might add comments more in keeping with his later ecclesiastical associations.

objective fact first, thus repudiating what he refers to as "heart worship."[1] In baptism the water, not the subjective response, regenerates;[2] at confirmation no spiritual response is required, only objective conditions - the ability to say the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, etc., - "nothing being said of a change of heart, or spiritual affections"; in the Catechism the "prominent notion is that of its [Faith's] object, the believing 'all the Articles of the Christian faith,'";[3] in the Order for Visiting the Sick it is the Articles of Faith that are rehearsed, not the patient's feelings; the Liturgy advocates external "observances and definite acts of duty" - there is an objective doctrinal emphasis throughout; and even of the Scriptures Newman said: "They constitute a rule of faith, not a rule of practice; a rule of doctrine, not a rule of conduct or discipline."[4]

Newman did believe that there was a place for individual judgment - without it, in fact, the Movement could not have carried on in the face of the negative official reaction - but it was simply in the exercise of choosing one's teacher: "The simple question then for private judgment to exercise itself upon is, what and where is the Church."[5] It was this aspect of the matter that

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1. "Via Media, No. II," Tracts, Vol. I, p.6.
2. Ibid., p.6.
3. Ibid., p.7.
4. Ibid., p.4.
5. "Private Judgment," British Critic, LIX (July, 1841), p.114.

Dissent denied:

> "We hear much of Bible Christians, Bible Religion, Bible preaching; it would be well if we heard a little of the Bible Church also; we venture to say, that Dissenting Churches would vanish thereupon at once, for, since it is their fundamental principle that they are not a pillar or ground of Truth, but voluntary societies, without authority and without gifts, the Bible Church they cannot be... Whoever is right, or whoever is wrong, they cannot be right, who profess not to have found, not to look out for, not to believe in, that Ordinance to which the Apostles and prophets give their testimony [i.e, the teaching Church]."[1]

This insistence upon some external, undeniably authoritative point of reference was, as has been suggested, a necessary corrective to the current religious subjectivism of which Tractarianism was not entirely free. Pusey, whose personal piety was strongly mystical, could still say in his third Eirenicon: "I have ever submitted my credenda to a power beyond myself."[2] In Palmer's Treatise it is evident that the authoritarian principle is the very essence of the author's ecclesiology. When the Church is regarded as the means, the guide, in the way to salvation,[3] divine authorization is essential. If we take this away from the Church, said Palmer, and if we grant, as we would then have to, that all human testimony is uncertain,

> "then all the external evidence for the genuineness, authenticity, and uncorrupted preservation

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1. Essays Critical and Historical, Vol. II, p.357.
2. Eirenicon III, p.4.
3. Cf., above, Ch. II, p.134ff.

> of Scripture is uncertain; if all human testimony is uncertain, then all the evidence of the perpetual existence, universality, belief, and judgments of the Church, is uncertain. Thus there is no external evidence of religion left, except the assumed infallibility of the existing Church [for the Roman], which itself can only be known to exist universally, or to give any particular evidence on any point, by human testimony; and therefore on this principle there is no foundation for revelation at all."[1]

The principle upon which he himself stood was the direct opposite of this: "The position which I am about to maintain is, that the whole catholic church of Christ, consisting of pastors and people, and every portion of it, are divinely authorized to judge in questions of religious controversy; that is, to determine whether a disputed doctrine is, or is not, a part of revelation; and to separate from their religious communion those individuals who oppose themselves to the common judgment."[2] This was a part of the divine plan for the preservation of revelation:

> "The Church is a society instituted by God for the purpose of preserving and propagating his revelation, by which is the way of salvation. Therefore it must be furnished with what is essential to the very object for which it was instituted; and consequently must, as a society, be authorized to judge what the truths of revelation are."[3]

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1. Treatise, Vol. II, pp.60-61.
2. Ibid., p.72.
3. Ibid., pp.74-75. This is a good example of the kind of a priori argument often used by Anglo-Catholics.

While Palmer did not entirely repudiate the principle of private judgment, he did argue that it was only ultimately significant in a corporate sense. If an individual has been given the right to judge in matters of religion, does it not follow that a large number of individuals carries an even greater authority? Therefore, in the end, the individual must submit his judgment to the catholic majority.[1] Like Newman, he is willing to admit that the opinions of certain well qualified individuals do carry more weight than those of the ordinary person, but their opinions must still be placed in the context of the whole Christian tradition.

It was a principle, not a specific body of doctrine, that was at stake. Newman could endorse Rome's advocacy of this principle while rejecting its dogma. In 1838 he wrote the following:

> "It is a poor answer to this inquiry, merely to enter into an attack upon Romanism, and to show that it contains an exaggerated and erroneous view of the doctrine [of the Church]. Erroneous or not, a view it certainly does contain; and that religion which attempts a view, though imperfect or extreme, does more than those which do not attempt it at all."[2]

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1. Ibid., pp.72-73. Palmer was aware of the fact that history does not reveal very many occasions when there was complete unanimity of opinion among churchmen, so he adopted what he called the principle of "moral unanimity": "judgment is not given in controversies of faith, unless it be morally unanimous." Ibid., p.81. By this he simply seems to mean an overwhelming majority.
2. Lectures, p.7.

The idea of authority was clearly distinguished from any particular dogmatic expression. The authoritarian or dogmatic principle had a religious value in itself. This is certainly the drift of two articles in the British Critic, probably written by Ward, in 1842 and 1843. In the first, the principle is clearly related to the Movement's supernaturalism:

> "... submission to the Church's dogma is no more than one of those many Christian acts, whereby the individual abandons his lower carnal nature, or his self, for his better life of unity and love. Such faith places him in a glorious state, far above the uncertainties and wanderings of the individual mind, as revelation is superior to reason, and grace to nature."[1]

In the second it is related to the Wardian epistemology and moralism:

> "... belief on authority may change more and more into belief on evidence, without consciousness of the process from first to last, without disruption of early and sacred associations, without any intrusion of those most disturbing and (when bearing on essential principles) demoralizing affections of the mind - bewilderment, doubt, inquiry, deliberation, choice."[2]

Wilfred Ward tells us that Ward was greatly impressed with Froude's Remains for this reason:

> "The boldness and completeness, the uncompromising tone of the Remains took hold of Mr. Ward's imagination. Authority in religion was

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1. "Palmer on Protestantism," British Critic, LXII (April, 1842), p.480.
2. "Church Authority," British Critic, LXV (Jan., 1843), p.270. For a discussion of Ward's religious philosophy, see above, Ch. II, p.154ff.

> the avowed principle. A clear, explicit rule of faith was thus substituted for perplexing and harassing speculation. Mr. Ward's dislike of the current system was echoed in the plain statement which he was for ever quoting. 'At length (under Henry VIII) the Church of England fell. Will she ever rise again?'"[1]

Though he could not accept the static conception of revelation which the Via Media advocated, Ward admired the principle of authority implicit in that theology. "They saw at once," he said in the Ideal, "that authority was the element which was wanting, and they stepped forward as advocates of authority."[2] E. A. Knox agreed with this interpretation of Tractarianism: "... Tractarianism was an attempt to deal with the age-long question of the Seat of Authority which is with us still, and will be with our children's children for generations to come, if not for all time."[3] Faber made a similar comment: "The Tractarians were determined to have something, which many of us have accustomed ourselves to do without - certainty upon the terms and the purpose of their earthly apprenticeship."[4]

Whatever content it might be given, the principle of authority continued to dominate Anglo-Catholic theology throughout our period: the conception of the Church as continuous with the apostolic band established by Christ,

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1. W. G. Ward, p.85.
2. Ideal, p.464.
3. Tractarian Movement, p.26. Needless to say, Knox did not think they had found the answer.
4. Oxford Apostles, p.16.

the doctrine of apostolic succession, the idea of covenanted channels, were all expressions of it. One must be assured that the Church and sacraments are God-given. This attitude is admirably summarized by H. H. Kelly: "It is not that we claim to be right and everybody else wrong, but that we dread any admission which would imply that there was no right."[1] And, "Truth there must be, and truth is one. Since individual thinking can only lead to endless diversities, the unity of truth must lie with some authority from whom we should be content to receive it."[2] Frank Weston shared the same conviction: "Penitence for the sin of discord is impossible to men who have no purpose of amendment. Amendment connotes an ideal of conduct; and the ideal must have its proper and adequate authority to commend it to all alike."[3]

But authority cannot remain an abstract principle in religious controversy - its objective source must be identified. For the Tractarians and most Anglo-Catholics

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1. Religious Unity, p.135.
2. Ibid., p.22. Kelly has an interesting comment to make on the rigidity of the currently popular principle of toleration: "The Non-Conformist Principle I take to be the individual principle of freedom, which is, of course, not at all angular or rigid, but I do not think that our friends realise that it is still harder to get in. The rigid things of life are uncompromising, but after all they ask nothing more than their own place. Freedom is rather apt to be tyrannous. Just because it objects to the confinement of a limited space, it becomes a claim to the whole area." Ibid., p.15.
3. Fulness of Christ, p.15.

in our period this source was Christian tradition. It must be borne in mind, however, that the historical interest of the Tractarians, influenced as it was by Romanticism, did not resemble the more objective historiography which developed during the latter half of the century.[1] Nevertheless the Movement revived an interest in order and history, venerable buildings and beauty in worship, through which they could challenge modern social and religious theories. Together with their Romantic historicism the Tractarians developed a strong anti-

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1. Undue criticism of the Tractarian historical method would often have been avoided if this difference were more generally recognized. Of their history E. A. Knox said: "The Oxford Divines had no conception of history except as a pit from which men dug out catenae in support of their dogmatism." Tractarian Movement, p.356. This criticism presupposed an approach to history that very few men at Oxford would have accepted at the time. Brilioth also criticized them for having placed so much emphasis upon the validity of their religious system without giving due recognition to "the demand for [historical] truth as an equally justified aspect of revelation." Anglican Revival, p.211. Even Thomas Arnold, in his criticism as a contemporary, did not object to their way of using history, but to the idea of using it at all: "I cannot sympathize with it's [the appeal to history] object, which has always appeared to me to belong to the Antiquarianism of Christianity - not to its profitable history... The history, and writings of the early ages of the Church have their use - but it is an indirect not a direct one - like the use of some of the historical parts of the Old Testament; that is, it will not furnish examples or precedents to be applied in the lump to present things... I stand amazed at some apparent efforts in this Protestant Church to set up the idol of Tradition: that is to render Gibbon's conclusions against Christianity valid, by taking like him the Fathers and the second and subsequent periods of Christian History as a fair specimen of the Apostles and of the true doctrines of Christ." Quoted in E. A. Knox, Op. cit., pp.132-133.

Rationalism, and the combination too easily degenerated into irrationalism. The kind of influence the Romantic conception of history did have upon the Movement is well illustrated in Brandreth's description of the impact of a certain medieval church upon F. G. Lee:

> "Even to-day as one stands in the exquisite Gothic sanctuary of Thame church, with its centuries-old woodwork and the tapering beauty of its pillars, one can catch something of that spirit which so moved the young Lee, and one can readily see how he acquired that passionate love of antiquity, and that almost fanatical hatred of the despoilers of the sixteenth century, which remained with him throughout his life. One can see, too, how there arose in him that longing for a return to undivided Christendom which was the hall-mark of his life; the undivided Christendom which had produced and nurtured the beauty he loved and appreciated so well."[1]

Pusey reverenced the ancient Church in a similar fashion - a reverence which made an objective approach to it almost a sacrilege. In counselling an acquaintance, who evidently entertained religious doubts, he revealed this disposition:

> "I wish you could be employed in some way which would lead you to the Fathers. They have been these many years the same comfort to me, as modern Roman writers have been a discomfort to you... I read them, learn of them, live among them, as a child; adopt their words, say what they say, do not say what they do not. I live in them as my home. I have not gone about proving to myself our identity with them. I feel it. Theirs is my native

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1. Dr. Lee, p.3.

> language: they are familiar accents. But it does impress upon me that the English appeal to Antiquity is something real and substantial."[1]

Though the Tractarian attitude towards history was uncritical, it would be a mistake to say they had no genuine interest in learning from it. It is true that the Wardian school had no such interest, but the extensive work carried out by the Apostolicals in translating the Fathers, guided by Pusey and begun with his translation of Augustine's Confessions, cannot be described as superficial.

Brilioth uses the term "static" to describe the Tractarian conception of historic authority.[2] It is that which finds its faith, order, and life in the past, i.e., a principle of stationariness. Brilioth makes much of the tension between this "staticism" and the more progressive sacramentalism which appeared in Tractarian writing from time to time.[3] He avoids the obvious explanation, i.e., that churchmen who found their personal religion on more or less subjective phenomena - conscience, religious experience, sacramental mysticism, etc. - find it necessary, if they are to avoid a complete religious subjectivism, to

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1. Quoted in Liddon, Life, Vol. III, p.142.
2. His usage has been adopted throughout this Thesis.
3. This idea of progressive revelation, which Brilioth found in a number of the Tractarian sermons, was closely related to the theology of conscience which found systematic expression in Ward's Ideal. It had little theological influence among Anglo-Catholics during our period.

stress objective and unchanging standards.[1] The fact that Newman could not tolerate the subjectivism of the progressive system which he embraced in his last Anglican years simply illustrates this point. He needed the objective authority which the Via Media had provided, and which he found again in the Roman Church.

Froude, in many ways the moving spirit of the Revival's early years, felt that an appeal to history would be useful in promoting their interests. In 1832 he suggested to a friend that a quarterly magazine should be started along historical lines. "A thing of that sort," he said, "might sneak into circulation as a book of antiquarian research, and yet, if well managed, might undermine many prejudices." [2] But this was not simply a trick - it represented a

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1. Brilioth did see a relationship between the two, but made no effort to reconcile them: "The intimate connection between these two will become more plain as we go on to study their effect on the concept of the Church, especially in Newman: the true Elect are God's Saints - to say, that the true Church is the body of the elect, is only another expression for the idea that holiness is the most essential note of the Church. But between a conception of the Church which proceeds from this way of thinking, and that which is constructed on a purely historical foundation and with the ministry of the Church as the most essential criterion, there is a dualism which can never be entirely overcome. There is nearly the same antithesis between empirical and the purely spiritual conception of the Church which is at the bottom of St. Augustine's view. The analogy is so striking that exactly this antithesis between two fundamentally inconsistent views of the Church is one of the points in which the dependence of the Oxford Movement on St. Augustine appears most plainly." Anglican Revival, p.261. Needless to say, the Tractarians would have been flattered by the analogy.
2. Remains, Part I, Vol. I, p.254.

return to the only source of authority, the apostolic teaching. It was an article of faith with Froude, as with most Anglo-Catholics, that the Primitive Church faithfully reproduced the apostolic community. The appeal to history was an obvious corollary of the static doctrine of revelation, and a preference for the ancient as opposed to the modern was almost a universal characteristic of the Movement. The following statement of Froude's is typical: "On the subject of religion he [speaking in the third person of himself] is firmly convinced of the truth of the maxim that old ways are right ways; and he will think any of his views sufficiently refuted, if the charge can be substantiated against it, that is new."[1] The editors of his Remains had a similar attitude: "Assuming this then as our ground and first principle, that a Churchman's adherence to the doctrine of Universal Consent is to be strictly and really uncompromising... Clearly each one in his station is bound to take his part, not with the New Error, but with the old Truth."[2]

By invoking the authority of antiquity Newman was able to reconcile the fact that his theology was a novelty in the English Church with the conception of static revelation: "... the Via Media, viewed as an integral system, has scarcely had existence except on paper, it has never been

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1. Ibid., Part II, Vol. I, p.17.
2. Ibid., p.xvii.

reduced to practice but by piecemeal; it is known, not positively but negatively, in its difference from the rival creeds, not in its own properties; and can only be described as a third system, neither the one nor the other, partly both [Protestant and Roman], cutting between them, and, as if with critical fastidiousness, trifling with them both, and boasting to be nearer antiquity than either."[1] The argument is repeated in the Apologia where Newman defines the Tractarian system in static terms: "If I must specify what I mean by 'Anglican principles,' I should say, e.g., taking Antiquity, not the existing Church, as the oracle of truth; and holding that the Apostolical Succession is a sufficient guarantee of Sacramental Grace, without union with the Christian Church throughout the world."[2] We will consider this use of the doctrine of apostolic succession in the following chapter.

This basic assumption of stationariness runs through all the early Tractarian literature and continued through the sub-Tractarian period. As Newman had said in his Lectures: "Stationariness is a proof of adherence to some fixed and definite standard."[3] And, "We have but to remain pertinaciously and immoveably fixed on the ground of Antiquity; and, as truth is ours, so will the victory

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1. Lectures, p.20.
2. Apologia, p.268.
3. Quoted in Liddon, Life, Vol. II, p.80.

be also."[1] But it was Pusey, not Newman, who fixed the principle firmly in the Anglo-Catholic Movement. To be sure, it was partly an emotional predisposition with him, but it was more than this. In answering a woman who had asked him what "Puseyism" [2] stood for, he put the principle in a theological context. He sums up the question of authority in this way:

> "Reverence for and deference to the Ancient Church, of which our own Church is looked upon as the representative to us, and by whose views and doctrines we interpret our own Church when her meaning is questioned and doubtful: in a word, reference to the Ancient Church, instead of the Reformers, as the ultimate expounder of the meaning of our Church."[3]

Antiquity was the final ecclesiastical authority:

> "I cannot give up my implicit faith in the Ancient Church, nor limit my subscription to it. If our formularies were set authoritatively (i.e., by any interpretation of the English Church) at variance with the Ancient (which God forbid!), I should have to give up our formularies. I have full confidence that it will not be so."[4]

Thus the Fathers provided both religious inspiration and

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1. Lectures, p.101.
2. The use of the term "Puseyism" in connection with the Movement is ironical. When Newman asked Pusey to contribute his Tract on fasting in 1834, Pusey had not yet committed himself to the cause. He thought that if he attached his name to the Tract it would clearly distinguish him from the other contributors who wrote anonymously. In actual fact it gave the public at large the first name to be unquestionably associated with the Tracts - and the name stuck despite many a protest from Pusey himself.
3. Liddon, Life, Vol. II, p.140.
4. Quoted from a letter to Bishop-elect (Oxon) Wilberforce in 1845 in Ibid., Vol. III, p.45.

theological finality for Pusey.

William Palmer's support of the static principle reveals non-Wardian Tractarianism's debt to the Anglican High Church tradition. Palmer was always more of a High Churchman than he was a Tractarian, and his theology had been learned long before Newman constructed the Via Media. In his Treatise the following statement of the static view appears:

> "... we do not appeal to the fathers as inspired and authoritative writers, but as competent witnesses of the faith held by Christians in their days. If they are not to be trusted in this, they are not to be trusted in their testimony of the facts of Christianity, and the external evidence of revelation is subverted."[1]

And because this is so, "I maintain that Christians cannot possibly admit that any doctrine established by universal tradition can be otherwise than divinely, infallibly, true."[2]

In the sub-Tractarian period the static principle was applied to ecumenics. A reunited Church must be a dogmatic unity, and the standards of that unity must be provided by the ancient, undivided Church. If all churches would accept no more or no less than was accepted then, unity would naturally follow - it was as simple as that. The ecumenical task was thus intracommunal and could be achieved

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1. Treatise, Vol. II, p.43.
2. Ibid., p.36.

through discussion, prayer, and self-examination. This was what was meant when, in the Preface to the Bonn Conference Report, Liddon said that that conference stood for unity "upon the principles of Catholic antiquity."[1] He quoted favorably from Prof. Ossinin to the same effect: "'In all attempts at reunion,' observed Professor Ossinin, 'and in all transactions between members of the Eastern and Western Churches, the only hope of arriving at any practical result will be in each side being ready to go back to the basis of the ancient undivided Church.'"[2]

The Liberal Catholics also believed that tradition was revelation's authoritative interpreter, but they approached it more objectively and critically. Gore's statement that "Whatever is new to Christian theology in substance, is by that very fact proved not to be of the faith,"[3] is not essentially different from Froude's. Though R. C. Moberly did not accept a propositional view of revelation, in his Lux Mundi essay he did agree that the historical witness was indispensable.[4] The difference between the Tractarian and the Liberal Catholic was in their conception of what history was. T. A. Lacey noted this difference in the following way. Of the Tractarians he said:

"The appeal to antiquity meant for them an appeal

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1. Bonn Report, p.v.
2. Ibid., p.xlvi.
3. Roman Catholic Claims (10th ed., London: 1920), p.38.
4. Lux Mundi, p.245.

> to the Ancient Fathers of the Church; and living, as Newman said, with the Fathers, they read them uncritically and under the control of certain prejudices. In this respect they were inferior to some men of whom they had a poor opinion."[1]

And with obvious reference to Liberal Catholicism, while admitting current disagreement among Anglo-Catholics, he said:

> "It is only in recent years that Anglo-Catholics have come to happy terms with critical theology, with Biblical criticism, and with a fearless treatment of history. No all of us are even now courageous."[2]

It is important to bear in mind that even the Tractarian view of the authority of the ancient Church was not governed by a belief in the special inspiration of that period. The function of antiquity was testimonial. It was the most authoritative witness to and therefore interpreter of the original deposit, which was given in the Scriptures. They called this their "Rule of Faith": the Bible taken together with tradition. And the Bible was the ultimate source of authority. In the Treatise Palmer wrote: "Scripture then was written not casually or by the momentary impulse of the apostles and evangelists, however apparently it may have been so: it was really the decree of God which caused it to be written."[3] The authority of this revelation therefore rested upon a doctrine of literal

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1. Anglo-Catholic Faith, p.44.
2. Ibid., p.49.
3. Treatise, Vol. II, p.6.

inspiration. "What the apostles and evangelists wrote," said Palmer, "cannot but be the word of Him who invested them with miraculous powers."[1] In the sub-Tractarian period men like Pusey and Liddon believed that the Christian religion itself was dependent upon this doctrine. The Liberal Catholic departure from it therefore came as a great shock to Liddon - even to the point, it has been suggested, of hastening his death. In his Lux Mundi essay Gore had not only depreciated the significance of the doctrine of inspiration, but had suggested that Jesus Christ's own knowledge was limited.[2] The doctrine of

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1. Ibid., p.5.
2. Liddon would only say that Christ's knowledge was limited where He Himself said it was - as in relation to the time of the Day of Judgment. Where distinct assertions are made, as, for instance, in relation to the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, the genuine character of the D code, etc., one must accept the fact of knowledge. Liddon oliminated the linguistic problem by suggesting that Christ was familiar with all languages. He believed that if Christ could not be trusted in this, He could not be trusted in His claims to Sonship: "To suppose that our Lord is really ignorant of any one subject upon which He teaches us as One Who believes Himself to know, appears to me to admit of a solvent which must speedily break up all belief in His authority and teaching whatever." Johnston, H. P. Liddon, pp.124-125. This position was totally different from that of the Lux Mundi school - the divine, supernatural, miraculous sanctions which the Tractarians held to be the foundations of Biblical authority had no meaning for these men. Liddon despaired of this difference in tone more than in particular points of disagreement. Morse-Boycott accurately records Liddon's reaction: "'Some of the Essays,' he wrote, 'or, at any rate, one of them - F. Paget's - is a real contribution to Christian theology.' But, 'the whole volume, as I read it, has a naturalistic and Pelagianizing tone; the writers seem to think it a gain when they can prune away or economize the Supernatural, and the great and awful doctrines of grace, which are the very heart of

inspiration, Gore suggested,

> "is in fact an important part of the superstructure, but it is not among the bases of the Christian belief. The Christian creed asserts the reality of certain historical facts. To these facts, in the Church's name, we claim assent: but we do so on grounds which, so far, are quite independent of the inspiration of the evangelic records. All that we claim to shew at this stage is that they are historical: not historical so as to be absolutely without error, but historical in the general sense, so as to be trustworthy. All that is necessary for faith in Christ is to be found in the moral dispositions which predispose to belief, and make intelligible and credible the thing to be believed: coupled with such acceptance of the generally historical character of the Gospels, and of the trustworthiness of the other apostolic documents... Let it be laid down then that Christianity brings with it indeed a doctrine of the inspiration of Holy Scripture, but it is not based upon it."[1]

Such an interpretation would have been unintelligible to Pusey. Nevertheless both Tractarian and Liberal Catholic accepted the basic formula of Bible plus tradition.

In the Religious Tests controversy of 1834, the Apostolicals drew up a Declaration in which this Rule of Faith was clearly defined: "By religion was meant the doctrines of the Gospel as revealed in the Bible, and as maintained by the Church of Christ in its best and purest times, and, in these days by the Church of England."[2]

Christianity.' Lux Mundi was, to him, a proclamation of revolt against the spirit and principles of Pusey and Keble." They Shine Like Stars, p.227.

1. Lux Mundi, pp.340-341.
2. Liddon, Life, Vol. I, p.292.

This Rule was often used in arguing against the validity of the doctrine of private judgment. The Bible is not a simple book, Froude said, and one cannot hope to approach it objectively. It is not a self-evident document, any more than Newton's theories are self-evident in the night sky. All the necessary data may be there, but authoritative interpretation is necessary:

> "Some people say to themselves, 'We will not be prejudiced, we will read and think and interpret for ourselves, by common sense, and not according to the ingenious pedantry of commentators,' etc. Such people are under a great delusion. Let them try ever so much, they neither think for themselves nor interpret for themselves."[1]

Newman attacked the Protestant doctrine with similar arguments. The individual was not likely, by virtue of natural ability or divine promise, to be able to understand anything so complex as the Scriptures: "I conclude then that there is neither natural probability, nor supernatural promise, that individuals reading Scripture for themselves, to the neglect of other means when they can have them, will, because they pray for a blessing, be necessarily led into a knowledge of the true and complete faith of a Christian."[2] Even among the Tractarians there was not exact agreement on a precise definition of the Rule of Faith, however. Newman's interpretation was that the Church or tradition

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1. Remains, Part II, Vol. I, p.88.
2. Lectures, p.203.

taught, while the Scriptures proved the validity of that teaching. The Bible was the test of doctrine, "the standard of truth."[1] This "proof-text" definition of the Rule was also adopted by H. E. Manning and Charles Marriott in the seventy-eighth Tract:

> "With relation to the supreme authority of inspired Scripture it stands thus: - Catholic tradition teaches revealed truth, Scripture proves it; Scripture is the document of Faith, tradition the witness of it; the true Creed is the Catholic interpretation of Scripture, or Scripturally proved tradition; Scripture by itself teaches mediately and proves decisively; tradition by itself proves negatively and teaches positively; Scripture and tradition taken together are the joint Rule of Faith."[2]

Palmer interpreted the Rule in a slightly different way: the Scriptures are the primary source of inspiration, tradition is their authoritative commentary. He disagreed with Froude and Newman in that he believed the Scriptures essentially and ordinarily understandable. He thus stated the Rule:

> "... not only is scripture so clear on many points, that an erroneous interpretation can scarcely be forced on it, and those who wish to do so are at last obliged to mutilate it: but we have an unerring guide to the true meaning of scripture in the doctrine of the universal church in all ages, and in the formal and legitimate judgments made by that church in controversies of faith. To these I maintain that every private Christian is bound to submit his private opinion to

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1. "Catholicity of the English Church," British Critic, LIII (Jan., 1840), p.48.
2. Tracts, Vol. IV (London: 1838), p.2.

unerring and irrefragable authority."[1]

It is human limitations, not scriptural obscurity, that makes this authoritative guide necessary: "Scripture ought to be of itself sufficient for the overthrow of all errors against faith; but since men are liable to be misled, by the evil interpretations of others to misunderstand the divine meaning of scripture, the doctrine or tradition of Christianity in all ages, i.e., of the catholic church, is presented to us as a confirmation of the true meaning of scripture."[2] The Scriptures themselves are, therefore, the authoritative teacher, not simply a source of proofs. As we have observed elsewhere, Palmer did not believe that the Fathers had any special inspiration - they were simply reliable witnesses to the teaching of Scripture.

Pusey, too, was a staunch defender of the primacy of the Scriptures as the teacher of divine truth. Though opposed to Protestant interpretations of Biblical authority, [3] Pusey was anxious that tradition should not usurp Scripture's primacy. This is evident in his letter to the Bishop of Oxford:

"In brief, then, my Lord, the meaning of our

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1. Treatise, Vol. II, pp.32-33.
2. Ibid., pp.34-35.
3. In all fairness to Newman and Pusey it should be pointed out that they usually distinguished between classical Protestantism and those nineteenth century Protestant ideas against which they were reacting by referring to the latter as "Ultra-Protestantism."

> Church (as we conceive it) in these Articles [the sixth and twentieth] is, that the Scripture is the sole authoritative source of the Faith, i.e., of 'things to be believed in order to salvation'; the Church is the medium through which that knowledge is conveyed to individuals; she, under her responsibility to God, and in subjection to His Scripture, and with the guidance of His Holy Spirit, testifies to her children, what truths are necessary to be believed in order to salvation; expounds Scripture to them; determines, when controversies arise; and this, not in the character of a judge, but as a 'witness' to what she herself received."[1]

As for Palmer, the Church interprets the teaching of Scripture where its ordinary meaning is not clear. For this reason Pusey's use of the Rule against the Ultra-Protestant doctrine was slightly different from Newman's:

> "Scripture is reverenced as paramount; the 'doctrine of the Old or New Testament' is the source; the 'Catholic Fathers and ancient Bishops' have but the office of 'collecting out of the same doctrine'; the Old and New Testaments are the fountain; the Catholic Fathers the channel through which it has flowed down to us. The contrast then in point of authority is not between Holy Scripture and the Fathers, but between the Fathers and us; not between the book interpreted and the interpreters, but between one class of interpreters and another; between ancient Catholic truth and modern private opinions; not between the Word of God and the word of man, but between varying modes of understanding the Word of God."[2]

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1. Letter to Oxford, pp.30-31.
2. Quoted in Liddon, Life, Vol. I, p.418. In quoting from a paper which Pusey delivered to a private Tractarian theological society, Liddon seems to imply that he held a position closer to Newman's - though I cannot think that he is right in doing so: "Pusey depreciated the onesidedness which would sacrifice Scripture to antiquity or

The Wardian school, with its progressive theory of revelation, did not share Pusey's essentially static interpretation of the Rule - in so far as the Rule meant anything to them at all. Ward referred to the "sense" of Scripture, rather than to the "letter," when he spoke of its relationship to tradition:

> "We maintain that the true sense of Scripture is handed down from age to age by tradition, and that the witnesses to it profess no more than to deliver what they have received; also that private individuals depend more or less on the word of those more holy than themselves, who assure us that they go on continually to find greater accordance between the written and unwritten word."[1]

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antiquity to a mistaken conception of the best methods for studying Scripture; and the latter being the danger of the time, the paper is mainly taken up with arguing the importance of the study of antiquity... the 6th Article is discussed in order to show that if Scripture contains all necessary truth its use is not so much to teach as to 'prove' what is taught by the teaching Church." Life, Vol. I, p.336. I have not seen this paper, which may simply reflect the sort of contradictory influence Newman often had upon Pusey (in the Martyrs' Memorial and Jerusalem Bishopric controversies it resulted in a complete reversal of his position), but it does not agree with Pusey's usual interpretation of the Rule.

1. Quoted in W. Ward, W. G. Ward (pp.89-90), from British Critic, XXX. Underlining mine. Ward's comments upon the alternatives that Protestants and Liberals have to offer are worth recording: "There is a school of Protestants indeed... who say that reading the Scriptures is as it were a sacrament, by means of which the Holy Spirit guides each Christian into true doctrine... But what does Dr. Arnold and those who think with him in this matter substitute? He attacks the prophetical office of the Church as founded by the Apostles, and gives us as our prophets grammarians and philologists. Humble believers are to look for Christian truth from lips, not of those who are better Christians, but better critics; not of those who have more experience in holy living, but in manuscripts and Greek constructions; not of those who succeed the Apostles but of those who succeed 'Porson and Hermann.'" Ibid., p.90.

Because Scripture is truth, and because the conscience leads men to truth, those who have lived in most perfect obedience to the conscience - the saints - must, of necessity, be authoritative interpreters of the "sense" of Scripture. Though Ward does, in this passage, imply historical descent, it has very little relevance in his conscience-centered progressivism. That this is the case is evident in his admission that though the necessity of basing one's religious life upon the Scriptures may be a part of a certain religious tradition, it was not an obligation incumbent on himself.[1] The Scriptures, then, have a certain devotional value, but not the authority given them by Newman or Palmer or Pusey.

In the sub-Tractarian period, Pusey's interpretation was widely accepted. In some cases it is not easy, or necessarily fruitful, to distinguish between his personal influence and the momentum, in Anglo-Catholic and Anglican thought generally, of the traditional Anglican interpretation of which Palmer's treatment is an example. The interpretation of the Rule adopted by the Synod of the South African Church, under the guidance of Anglo-Catholic Archbishop Gray, is a case in point. The following passage appears in its Resolution on Unity of 1870:

"... and here [this Synod desires] solemnly to

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1. Ideal, p.533.

> record its conviction that unity will be most effectually promoted by maintaining the Faith in its purity and integrity, as taught by the Holy Scriptures, held by the Primitive Church, summed up in the Creeds, and affirmed by the undisputed General Councils;..."[1]

Bishop Forbes' adoption of a similar position was undoubtedly attributable to Pusey's influence.[2] And though Liddon did not seem to be clearly aware of the difference between Newman and Pusey's position,[3] he himself followed the latter. In the Preface to the Bonn Conference Report, he agreed with Prof. Ossinin's statement that the basis of Christian authority was in the "Scripture as interpreted, not by the eccentricities of the individual judgment, but by the general consent or sense of Christian antiquity."[4] In comparing the Old Catholic position with that of the English Church, Liddon said: "They construe Scripture, not by the caprice of individual judgment, but by the authoritative light of ancient consent."[5]

In the same period there were also those who, like Newman, attributed a more independent teaching authority to

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1. C. Gray (ed.), Life of Bishop Gray (London: 1876), Vol. II, p.544.
2. Cf. "A Charge (on Unity)," Lee, Sermons.
3. Cf., above, note on p.273f.
4. Bonn Report, pp.xlvi-xlvii.
5. Ibid., p.xlviii. It is interesting that Döllinger, the leading spirit of the Old Catholic movement and the founder of the Bonn Conferences, advocated this same principle as the basis of reunion: the Scriptures interpreted by the Oecumenical Creeds and the undivided Church. Cf. John J. I. von Döllinger, Reunion of the Churches, trans. with Preface by H. N. Oxenham (London: 1872), p.163.

tradition. R. F. Littledale said that revelation comes through both a written and an unwritten tradition - the Bible witnessing to the one and the ancient Church to the other:

> "There are two trustworthy witnesses which tell us what is the Christian religion: the Bible, and Church history. The Bible gives us the first inspired statement of the facts; Church history tells us how those facts were understood by the earliest Christians, who were taught by the Apostles and by men who knew the Apostles... Whenever, then, we hold any doctrine which is found alike in the Bible and in the teaching of the Christian Church ever since, we can be quite certain that here is an integral piece of the true original Christian revelation."[1]

He does say, however, that the Church is subordinate to the Word.[2]

Gore, in accepting a moderate form of Biblical criticism [3] and a kenotic rather than supernaturalistic Christology, necessarily interpreted the Rule of Faith with a different emphasis. Though his statement of the Rule sometimes resembled Pusey's interpretation, its substance had more in common with Newman's position. Any significant comparison is really impossible because while the Tractarians understood revelation in a propositional way, Gore believed

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1. Plain Reasons, p.14.
2. Ibid., p.159.
3. H. H. Henson was not wide of the mark in his estimate of Gore's position: "In his essay [in Lux Mundi] Gore seemed to break with the Tractarian tradition by seeming to accept some of the new Biblical learning, (how much was not very clear)... Gore's subtle and courageous intellect had imagined the possibility of saving Tractarianism by a process analogous to innoculation. A mild instalment of Modernism would avert the fatal malady!" Retrospect of an Unimportant Life, Vol. I (London: 1942), p.155.

it to be primarily personal and moral. Beyond that Gore rejected a doctrine of literal inspiration, which had been the backbone of the Tractarian interpretation of the Rule, and believed that while the Biblical records were historically reliable they could not be regarded as accurate statements of events in detail. It is these differences that bring out certain similarities between Newman and Gore. The fact of the Church, as the community which produced the Scriptures, became all-important. It was, therefore, the presence of the Holy Spirit, not the accuracy of the apostolic Church's memory, that made its witness trustworthy - though historical proximity was, of course, necessary to that witness. "Catholicism has always held," he said, "the Book in the context of the Church, and appealed to the tradition of the church as older than the books which inshrined it."[1] But while the unwritten tradition of the apostolic period was the source of the written Word, this tradition has only survived through the Bible. He therefore seems to return to the Pusian statement of the Rule: "The patristic conception of the rule of faith finds it, as we have seen, (a) in the Bible, (b) in the witness of the general Church interpreting the Bible."[2] Nevertheless, in other

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1. Anglo-Catholic Movement, pp.16-17.
2. Ibid., p.67.

references the teaching authority of the Church seems to be regarded as only indirectly dependent on Scripture: "The Church, then, is the primary teacher; the Bible is the final court of appeal in all matters which concern the faith and morals of the Christian Church... 'The Church to teach, the Bible to prove' - that is the rule of faith."[1] If Gore had been required to adopt one or the other of the above statements, his understanding of the Church would undoubtedly have inclined him to favor the latter. But since Gore accepted the static rather than progressive view of revelation, he would not be likely to accept the validity of an unwritten tradition which extended much beyond the apostolic period.

N. P. Williams went much further towards accepting the idea of a more extensive unwritten tradition. While this tradition was a part of the original deposit and is therefore implicit in the Scriptures,[2] there was a legitimate development of it beyond the period in which the Scriptures were written:

> "We stand for the principle of a deposit of fundamental Christian ideas, promulgated by Christ our Lord, committed by Him to the guardianship of the Catholic Church, and implicitly or explicitly contained in the

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1. Mission of the Church, p.45.
2. "Our basis of authority is quite clear: it is the Holy Scriptures as expounded by the Universal Church, the Church of the Ages, the Church of the Apostles, the Fathers and the Saints." Kikuyu Opinion, p.21.

> Holy Scriptures; for the belief that the historical development of Christian doctrine was so guided and inspired by the heavenly assistance of the Holy Ghost, that the Catholic Creeds and conciliar definitions may be relied upon as representing the nearest approach to absolute truth which finite minds are capable of apprehending."[1]

Spencer Jones and the Anglican Papalists carried this trend of interpretation to the point where the only purpose of the Scriptures was to endorse the validity of the unwritten tradition, carte blanche.[2]

Despite this tendency, the main body of Anglo-Catholics in the early twentieth century maintained the general approach of Palmer and Pusey. A. J. Mason significantly relates his position to that of the Anglican divines of the sixteenth century. Their Rule, he said, was this: "Whatever can be shown to be the teaching of scripture and of the unanimous voice of the early church is for that very reason the teaching of the church of England, even if it has not been explicitly accepted and professed."[3] The Scriptures contain the whole revelation, and the Primitive Church had a special interpretive function: "Their one desire was to be faithful to the scripture; but for that very reason they used for its interpretation, though not without criticism, the commentary supplied by the fathers,

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1. Anglo-Catholic Congress, 1920, p.64.
2. To put it bluntly, the Bible was understood to write a blank check for the Church. Cf. Jones, Holy See, especially p.4, and Ch. V, Sect. 2.
3. Church of England and Episcopacy, p.1.

and by the history and by the enactments of primitive Christianity."[1] There is no suggestion of a dual outlet for the original deposit. Viscount Halifax took the same position:

> "They [English Churchmen] have learnt that what that faith enjoins is no hard matter to discover. The testimony of the Fathers, the witness of the whole Church as determining the teaching of Holy Scripture, supplies the basis of faith insisted upon by the Catholic Revival, and it is a basis which gives us that security we all need at a time when the most sacred truths and the very foundations of Christianity are being called into question."[2]

Though most of the men we have considered agreed that the Bible was in some way the mediator and source of authority, the static historicism, with its Rule of Faith, remains an abstraction - useful in general outline but meaningless in specific cases - until the exact meaning of "tradition" is determined. The fundamental weakness of static Anglo-Catholicism is its failure to give a satisfactory answer to this question. The Tractarians were aware of this problem from the beginning. In 1840 Newman posed this question in an imaginary conversation between a Roman Catholic and an Anglo-Catholic. What, the Roman wants to know, is the advantage of the Anglo-Catholic Rule of Faith when the Fathers are, if anything, more ambiguous and confusing than the Scriptures taken by themselves. Is

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1. Ibid., p.2.
2. In the Preface, Kelway, Catholic Revival, p.x.

there any alternative, given this fact, to a kind of eclecticism which proceeds from a priori grounds? The Anglo-Catholic answers that they only accept as authoritative that upon which the Fathers agree, their "distinct, strong, and unanimous" testimony.[1] This, of course, is no answer at all. Even with his more critical approach to history Gore does not do any better. By the Fathers, he said, he meant those "who remained in the communion of the Church, masters of repute."[2] He added that much also depended on their intellectual endowment, and that, in the end, they could only provide a proximate authority which must be taken together with the various documents of the Church: "Thus the personal teachers and the formulas, taken together, constitute the proximate rule of faith."[3] Their authority rested upon a complex procedure of research and study - one might almost say that it was the authority of the historian rather than the authority of history. In this Gore bears a marked resemblance to Palmer.

Brilioth observes that this difficulty is typically Anglican, and supports the conclusion by referring to the variety of answers prominent Churchmen have given regarding the limits of the authoritative ancient Church:

"Ken holds with the undivided Church down to the

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1. "Authority of the Ancient Church," British Critic, LIII (Jan., 1840).
2. Roman Catholic Claims, p.48.
3. Ibid., p.49.

> schism between East and West, Bramhall says five centuries, Jewel six, and authoritative documents of the Reformation age vary between the time before Gregory I and the time up to Chalcedon. For his [Newman's] own part he does not go farther than to put the boundary of antiquity somewhere between 343 (Council of Sardica) and 787 (the seventh oecumenical council according to the Orthodox Church), but in any case with the emphasis on the first four centuries."[1]

Littledale does not even attempt to give an answer - he simply suggests that "the Church is indefectible in the long run, though the teaching voice may be fallible at any given time."[2] And Lacey makes the whole argument even less secure by suggesting that "with whatever reverence Christian antiquity may be regarded, it is certain that some ancient things waxed old and vanished away."[3] Newman's imaginary Roman controversialist had asked a penetrating question indeed: how could an historical eclecticism be avoided in the face of this ambiguity?

The Tractarians, who were not unduly bothered by critical historical questions, usually identified antiquity with the earliest Christian centuries because its authority rested upon its proximity to the apostolic Church and the original revelation. The assumption was, that where the apostolic documents, i.e., the New

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1. Anglican Revival, pp.197-198.
2. Plain Reasons, p.160.
3. The Universal Church (London: 1921), p.28.

Testament, were silent or vague, the Primitive Church could be relied upon to faithfully reproduce the apostolic tradition. Thus Froude said that we must depend upon the Primitive Church to clarify certain doctrines which are "only intimated, not inculcated" in the Scriptures - "otherwise we would only have a partial knowledge of their drift."[1] Newman agreed:

> "First, let us understand what is meant by saying that Antiquity is of authority in religious questions... that whatever doctrine the primitive ages unanimously attest, whether by consent of Fathers, or by Councils, or by the events of history, or by controversies, or in whatever way, whatever may fairly and reasonably be considered to be the universal belief of those ages, is to be received as coming from the Apostles."[2]

This makes it evident that, in Newman's thought, the teaching authority of the Church did not rest upon a theory of progressive revelation.

The limits of this primitive period were usually set at the first four or five centuries. In the Preface to Froude's Remains, for instance, Newman judged the Anglican Reformers by the standard of the fourth century:

> "... there can be little doubt that generally speaking the tone of the fourth century is so unlike that of the sixteenth on each and all of these topics, that it is absolutely impossible for the same mind to sympathize with both. You must choose between the two lines: they are not only diverging, but

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1. Remains, Part II, Vol. I, p.73.
2. Lectures, p.62.

contrary."[1]

In a letter written to J. F. Russell in 1836, Pusey defined the authoritative period as including the first four ecumenical councils:

> "Our Church receives the first four Councils as being real Universal or Catholic Councils. The Bishops therein assembled bore witness to the faith which they had received from their predecessors, and so from the Apostles."[2]

In the forty-eight volume Anglo-Catholic library of patristic translations, the majority of the thirty authors used wrote in the fourth century. "This comparatively small number of authors is to be explained," Liddon suggested, "by Pusey's sense of the superior value of the great teachers of the fourth century, who spoke consciously in the name of the Universal Church, and who wrote at such great length."[3] And, it might be added, with whom Pusey agreed. Dean Church also believed that this period carried a moral weight surpassing that of any other. In answer to the question which we have been asking, he said:

> "The Anglican answer was that though the formal and conciliar authority was not the same in each case, the patristic literature of the time of the great councils, all that it took for granted and preserved as current belief and practice, all that resulted from the questions and debates of the time, formed a body of proof, which carried with it moral evidence only short of authoritative

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1. Remains, Part II, Vol. I, p.xxix.
2. Liddon, Life, Vol. I, p.403.
3. Ibid., p.436.

definition, and was so regarded in the Anglican formularies."[1]

Though a conciliar definition of antiquity was often given, there was never complete agreement as to which councils should be included. The Tractarians favored the first four, but followed the general Anglican tradition of accepting the first six. In the sub-Tractarian period there was a tendency in some quarters to accept the seventh as well, if by do doing the way would be made easier for reunion with the Eastern churches. In the twentieth century Williams simply assumed that Anglicans accepted "the seven Ecumenical Councils."[2] Spencer Jones, however, preferred six, as did W. J. E. Bennett.[3]

Still another means of clearly distinguishing the authoritative period was suggested by the doctrine of universal consent. Instead of placing the emphasis upon historic proximity, this doctrine stressed the authority of unified testimony. And, practically speaking, since the Church has not acted universally since the East-West Schism, this provided the upper limit. The Tractarians also used this doctrine to reconcile their use of the term Catholic, i.e., as synonymous with Orthodox, with its more primary reference to universality. The Catholic faith was that

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1. Oxford Movement, p.185.
2. Kikuyu Opinion, p.9.
3. Cf. Jones, Holy See, p.37, and Bennett, Foreign Churches, p.5.

which had been accepted by the universal Church, and those who professed that faith were rightly called Catholics. This definition of authoritative Catholic tradition was often couched in the formula of St. Vincent of Lerins: Quod Semper, Quod Ubique, Quod Omnibus Traditum Est. Tract 78 invokes the authority of numerous Anglican Fathers who had used this formula, and the doctrine of universal consent appears under various guises in much of the Tractarian literature. In the Preface to the Remains, Newman refers to the time of "universal consent," and in 1840 Pusey gave the following as one of the differences between "Puseyites" and Calvinists:

> "The authority of the Universal Church as the channel of truth to us. The one (our Church) thinks that what the Universal Church has declared to be a matter of faith (as in the Creeds) is to be received by individuals, antecedently and independently of what they themselves see to be true."[1]

In bringing the conceptions of catholicity as unity and catholicity as orthodoxy together, the Tractarians laid the foundations of the Anglo-Catholic ecumenical theology. The early Church, so the argument went, had doctrinal authority because the condition of unity had been attached to the scriptural promises that the true faith would continue in the Church. Summing up this position, Brilioth said:

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1. Liddon, Life, Vol. II, p.141.

> "... its [the early Church's] importance lies not merely in the fact that it is a means of arriving at the real apostolic doctrine, but rests chiefly on the fact that the Catholic Church, both according to the witness of the Creeds and of Scripture, has the promise of infallibility in matters of faith. But this holds good only as long as it preserved its unity - it ceased in and with the Church's internal divisions. It is plain what intensity this view must give and actually has given to the longing for Church Reunion."[1]

In the sub-Tractarian period this view was widely, almost universally, accepted by Anglo-Catholic ecumenists. This was the position adopted by the Bonn Conferences,[2] and fully endorsed by Liddon. Littledale advanced the opinion that Rome only spoke with authority when she spoke with the undivided Church.[3] This, he claimed, was the position always taken by the English Church: it "holds firmly to the faith of undivided Christendom, and therefore speaks with the accumulated authority of the whole Catholic Church on all fundamental points of doctrine."[4] Gore agreed: "To this richer and completer life of the undivided Church we make our appeal."[5] G. Sampson, an early twentieth century ecumenist, also related Church authority to universality or unity: "Some part of the Body of Christ, the Church, may err, and has

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1. Anglican Revival, p.197.
2. Bonn Report, pp.1-2. Döllinger held a similar view, and his influence upon the Conference must have been considerable. Cf. Reunion of the Churches, especially Lecture VII.
3. Plain Reasons, p.164.
4. Ibid., p.247.
5. Roman Catholic Claims, p.17.

erred, but the whole Church cannot err, because of the One Spirit of truth that is in it."[1] Following similar lines of reasoning, N. P. Williams set the upper limit of full ecclesiastical authority at 1054, the date of the East-West Schism. His statement of this principle is interesting because he accepted the Tractarian assumption that the teaching of this period was quite clear - certainly sufficient:

> "... if we take what was actually taught by it [the Church] during the undivided period, and still is taught in common by the two greatest of Christian bodies - the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox - as authoritative, we shall find that we have a perfectly definite and coherent body of information about God, man, our destiny in the next world and the way of salvation in this. And there is really no reasonable doubt as to what was taught by the undivided Catholic Church before 1054; its teaching is recorded for all men to see in the Creeds, in the definitions of the councils, in the general teaching of the fathers, in its liturgies and devotions ... The map is surely definite enough for even the most timorous sailor to steer by."[2]

On this basis alone could Church authority be restored. From this Williams proceeds to a rather interesting statement of the Rule of Faith in which the Primitive Church embraces ten centuries: "We believe in the Catholic faith as contained in the Scriptures and expounded by the primitive, that is, the undivided Church of the first

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1. Catholic Truth and Unity (London: 1914), p.9.
2. Anglo-Catholic Congress, 1920, p.67.

Christian millenium."[1] Such an interpretation certainly puts a strain on the original Tractarian static view. Something more than reliable testimony to apostolic doctrine is implied here.

It is evident that for Williams at least the way has been opened to what would, in the end, constitute a progressive view of revelation. He is saved from it by the assumption, which was not shared by men like Littledale and Gore, that both the Roman and Eastern churches are essentially static. It was therefore easy for those Anglo-Catholics who shared this assumption to accept current Roman and Eastern pronouncements as orthodox statements of the doctrine of the undivided, and even apostolic, Church. Proceeding from similar assumptions, many sub-Tractarian ecumenists, following the lead given by Newman in Tract XC, were convinced that the Tridentine formulas could be reconciled with those of the English Church. Probably the most important statement of this view is found in Pusey's three Eirenicons. But Pusey's violent reaction to the Vatican Council made it quite clear that he had not opened the door to the Roman progressivism.[2] Nevertheless, the progressive tendency

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1. Ibid., p.70.
2. At times Pusey appeared to accept the possibility of restoring an authority to the living Church like that given the ancient. In answering Manning, who had accused him of recognizing no existing authority, Pusey said that he would do so "in so far as they teach the same faith which

implicit in Newman's thought and explicit in Ward's Ideal, continued to have its influence upon some Anglo-Catholic thought. W. L. Knox expressed a cautious version of this tendency: "We cannot dismiss the Papacy as a mere false development without discrediting the whole system of doctrine and devotion which came into the English Church with the Tractarian movement."[1] He believed that there was a certain value in the very claim to authority - however unfounded, evidently - which Rome makes,[2] and, "The wide measure of authority which the promulgation and acceptance of the general contents of such belief by other parts of

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was from the beginning... and, if need required, they could at this day declare concurrently any truth, if it should appear that it had not, as yet been sufficiently defined, against some fresh heresy which should emerge." Eirenicon I, p.84. In the third Eirenicon this idea is repeated: "But, if the whole Church, including the Greek and Anglican Communions, were to define these or any other points, to be 'de fide,' I should hold all further inquiry as to evidence to be at an end... I should submit to it, and hold it, as being, by such universal consent of the whole Church, proved to be part of the Apostles' faith." pp.3-4. In summarizing the first Eirenicon, Liddon pointed out that Pusey hoped that "the Thirty-Nine Articles and the Council of Trent (which was largely directed against the errors of Luther) might pass away and be merged in the Eighth General Council of the once-more united Christendom." Life, Vol. IV, p.109. This could not be described as a progressive view of revelation - in effect it simply underlined his affirmation of the authority of the ancient undivided Church. The Vatican Council shattered Pusey's belief in the static character of the Roman Church. There is a finality about the title given the third Eirenicon in all editions published after the Council - Healthful Reunion as conceived possible before the Vatican Council.

1. The Catholic Movement, p.143.
2. Ibid., p.152.

Christendom will give it little less claim on his internal assent than a doctrine formally defined and universally accepted before the divisions of Christendom."[1] Like many Anglo-Catholics who accepted the branch theory, he felt that the Anglican claims to equal authority with Rome or the East, while theoretically justified, were not, in fact, practically acceptable due to their unfortunate association with Protestantism. But here, as elsewhere, what appears to be an acceptance of a progressive theory is only a variant form of the static assumption. Sampson makes this quite clear in his preference for the Eastern Church, rather than Rome, as the standard of living authority. There is an evident anti-Roman polemic in this argument, but, more than this, his position was governed by the belief that the Eastern Church had remained static while Rome had not. In the Eastern Church he saw the justification of the English Church's canons of authority: "... in a very striking way the English Church is at one in faith with the Orthodox Eastern Church on the most important points of Catholic truth."[2] The special authority of the Eastern Church was attributed to the fact that it, unlike the Anglican Church, had consistently maintained Catholic truth without internal dissent. Thus

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1. Ibid., p.152.
2. Catholic Truth and Unity, p.25.

Sampson could answer the question as to where living doctrinal authority lies quite explicitly: "We answer without hesitation, 'In the faith and teaching of the Orthodox Eastern Church.'"[1] Palmer too justified the Tractarian doctrine with frequent references to the Eastern Church. In the Treatise he often repudiates Protestant or Roman doctrines on the grounds that they are also repudiated by the Eastern Church.

This use of the doctrine of universal consent, either in relation to the undivided Church or contemporary extensions of it, to justify the rejection of certain Anglican traditions is characteristic of much of the Anglo-Catholic polemic. It was behind Stone's "ranking" of authority: that of the universal Church being the highest, the Western Church next, and the local (i.e., Anglican) Church last.[2] Similarly, Halifax said that "They [the Anglicans] cannot set themselves up against the teaching of the Church Universal, but must recognize its authority in matters of faith and practice as higher than their own."[3] And, "It follows, therefore, having regard to the fact that the Anglican episcopate... is but a part,

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1. Ibid., p.20. The presuppositions are clearly static: "The Eastern Church by her rigid orthodoxy has secured and preserved the standard of Catholic truth from the days when the whole Catholic Church throughout the world was at unity." Ibid., p.21.
2. The Authority of the Church (London: 1914), p.22.
3. Reunion and the Roman Primacy (London: 1925), p.14.

and the smaller part, of the whole episcopate of the West, that where the teaching of the episcopate in communion with Canterbury differs from that of Rome some doubt at least must be cast upon what, on Anglican principles, is to be accepted as the teaching of the Church."[1] A like position was adopted in the annual report (1906) of the Anglican and Eastern Orthodox Churches Union:

> "The policy of the Union continues to be based on the principle that the Anglican, as part of the Catholic Church, is bound by her position to act as such in her relation with other parts, and to work for the restoration of the visible unity of the Church as a revealed ideal."[2]

While Anglo-Catholics would only accept the definitions of the universal Church as the ultimate ecclesiastical authority, it was necessary for them to come to terms with the proximate authority of the Anglican formularies. Excepting several important though largely unconvincing attempts to interpret the Thirty-Nine Articles in a "Catholic sense," the Movement sought this authority in the Prayer Book.[3] As a result, that book was made to

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1. Ibid.
2. Brandreth, Oecumenical Ideals, p.82.
3. There remained High Churchmen of the old school who still believed that the Articles and the Reformation itself represented the true spirit of the Primitive Church. W. F. Hook was one such. In a letter to Pusey he said: "The Church of England took them [the ancient Fathers] for her guide when she reformed herself - here was her principle. Upon her principle we may act, but then we must always act in subjection to what she ruled at the Reformation - i.e., provided in her Formularies. With all deference to you, I think that the Reformers were as likely to know what was really Catholic and primitive as you are; and what,

carry a tremendous theological burden. Palmer thus described its significance:

> "It is a testimony of our fidelity to the great principles which have descended from the Apostles - a record of our faith never to be forsaken - a guide amidst the perplexities and uncertainties of human opinion. It is a mark of the continuity of faith from the Apostles even to the present day."[1]

While the doctrine of universal consent provided a theoretically useful definition of authoritative tradition, it still needed more specific terms of reference than the general category "undivided Church" provided, if it were to be practically applicable in particular circumstances. We have already touched upon this problem and some of the answers given by Anglo-Catholics. Some said that the orthodox doctrine of the undivided period could be determined by studying the consensus of patristic opinion; others suggested that the authority of this period was

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accepting their teaching, Convocation has overruled by Divine Providence to adopt - that I receive as the voice of the Catholic Church." Quoted in Liddon, Life, Vol. III, p.119. Writing almost a century later Morse-Boycott affirms the Prayer Book standard while at the same time admitting that even this has been rejected by some of his fellows: "Many of the doctrines which Anglo-Catholics have restored to the English Church may be wrong or may be right. My measuring-rod is not, are they true in themselves? (though, of course, I believe them to be so), but are they explicit in the Book of Common Prayer, in which the Tractarians entrenched themselves and which later Anglo-Catholics (I believe to their own undoing) tend to despise as an outworn document or a suit of clothes outgrown?" They Shine Like Stars, p.339 (Appendix). This repudiation of the Prayer Book was not pronounced in our period, though the Prayer Book Controversy of the 1920's revealed considerable dissatisfaction among some Anglo-Catholics.

1. Narrative, p.25.

perpetuated in those communions which had consciously maintained static ideals; and still others were of the opinion that catholic doctrine could be gleaned from the consensus of synodical opinion in the living Catholic churches - assuming that only those doctrines that were faithful to the original deposit would survive this test. But the prevalent answer to the question, where does one find the authoritative pronouncements of the universal Church? was, in the official and universally accepted ecumenical councils. Conciliarism was an important element in the Anglo-Catholic conception of the Church's structural unity, as we shall see in the following chapter, but here we will simply consider its dogmatic function. For the Tractarians the decrees of the ecumenical councils witnessed to a common apostolic tradition. How, asked Froude, could the three-hundred and five bishops, assembled at Nicaea from all over the Christian world, agree in their rejection of Arius unless that agreement was based upon a common tradition? This common tradition was, of course, that of the Apostles.[1] We have already noted that Pusey shared this view. Though Newman believed that Palmer's conciliarism implied a doctrine of development, Palmer's own views were certainly similar to Pusey's.[2]

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1. Cf. Remains, Part II., Vol. I, p.438ff., etc.
2. Of the Treatise Newman said: "He disowns the Via Media, as Anglicans generally understand it; he seems to allow

Gore, too, was a conciliarist in a static sense. "First let us be clear," he said, "that the Church's function is not to reveal truth."[1] Its function is, rather, that of a witness, and "the strength of witness is the consent of independent and distinct voices."[2] "This," he continued, "is the principle underlying the authority of general Councils - that their 'generality' secures the elimination of what is merely local or individual and the exaltation of the common heritage."[3] While he was more critical in his approach to history than was Froude, the position taken by both men was similar:

> "The tone of the actual meeting was sometimes polemical and embittered; that is true at least of the Council of Ephesus, so that it does not present the appearance of a trustworthy spiritual guide, or of a good court of final appeal. But our deference to them becomes quite intelligible when they are considered simply as machinery for registering the agreement of the Churches, and when it is further borne in mind that their authority only became decisive after their verdict had been accepted in the Church at large."[4]

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that the Rule of Faith has not been fixed once for all from the beginning; he holds that the dogmatic teaching of the Church is capable of increase; that Councils have authority and power to make additions to it; nay, strange to say, that a mere majority of votes in a Council is the voice of the Infallible Church." Essays Critical and Historical, Vol. I, pp.180-181. For Palmer's own views, cf., below, p.300f.

1. Roman Catholic Claims, p.38.
2. Ibid., p.40.
3. Ibid., p.41.
4. Ibid., p.42. But Gore would not be committed in detail. He added the following note to the above quoted passage: "Three points need to be remembered with reference to these

The Anglo-Catholic conception of static dogmatic authority, which we have been considering, had a special significance in their ecumenical theology. In fact they often place more emphasis upon their Rule of Faith than upon any particular body of doctrine. In part this was due to their position in a church which accepted no particular canons of authority, at least none with which the Anglo-Catholic could whole-heartedly agree. And when they were confronted by Protestant bodies they naturally were interested in establishing their own canons as the ground of appeal. This aspect of the matter will be discussed in the second part of this chapter. Before

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councils: (1) That what was finally authoritative was not the mere council, but the decrees of the council when the bishops had separated and their decisions had obtained general acceptance. (2) That the councils simply professed to register and enforce the traditions of the Churches, leaving argument to the theologians. (3) That our justification in accepting the decisions of the council lies in the verification of their results taken together. It is most reassuring to find that they represent, not the tyranny of chance majorities, but the gradual working out into a balanced formula of the complex scriptural truth of the Incarnation - guarding it from being overbalanced on one side or the other. The mind of the Spirit is apparent in the results." Ibid., note on p.42. While, as we have suggested elsewhere, Gore's understanding of the Church as the Spirit-bearing body might support a doctrine of progressive revelation, or at least a doctrine of ecclesiastical authority which would not be dependent on the testimonial principle, his conception of dogmatic authority was definitely static - as the above quotation illustrates. Though he believed that each age was obliged to restate Christian doctrine in intelligible terms, he rejected the idea of a secret deposit from which additional revelation could be drawn. Cf. Ibid., pp.56-57.

considering the application of the static Rule to the ecumenical situation, we should consider in more detail that element within the Movement which tended to modify or even reject the static presuppositions of the majority.

E. A. Knox attributes the disintegration of the Oxford party in the early 1840's to the development of fundamentally opposed doctrines of religious authority. The Wardian school could not accept the idea of static authority which was the backbone of the Via Media. They revolted against the Tractarian conservatism which almost venerated history for its own sake, and sought an authority beyond history. Brilioth's Anglican Revival contains an excellent analysis of the Movement which follows similar lines. There is no question but that the static and progressive - Brilioth calls it sacramental - conceptions of religious authority existed together in the Oxford Revival, the one conceiving of revelation and faith in propositional terms and the other emphasizing the intuitive and moral character of both. Both ways of thinking can be found in the literature of the Movement, often in the same individual. Probably the best way of distinguishing between the Tractarians and the Wardians on this point is to say that the Tractarians accepted the progressive idea of the conscience's authority in their piety, but not in their doctrine of ecclesiastical authority, while the Wardians made no distinction between these two areas of

religious life, applying the progressive canons to both.

The progressive element in the Movement was undoubtedly influenced by contemporary Roman Catholic thought. J. R. H. Moorman summarizes the principle of progressive revelation in post-Tridentine Roman Catholicism in the following way: beginning with the assumption that Christ's promise of the Holy Spirit who would guide the Church into all truth meant that revelation was continuous, the men who put forward these views went on to conclude that, "It was not the Primitive Church that should be taken as a model, but that Church which showed most signs of holiness, of being the true body of Christ."[1] In his Narrative, Palmer makes it quite evident that such views were widely accepted in the Movement:

> "The theory of development advocated in the writings of De Maistre and Mohler, according to which the latest form of Christianity is the most perfect, and the superstitions of the sixteenth or eighteenth century are preferable to the purity of the early ages, is openly sanctioned, advocated, avowed."[2]

He rightly saw these principles as subverting the static presuppositions of the Tractarians:

> "I cannot avoid observing, that the principle of development, as taught by Mohler, and adopted by the British Critic, is wholly subversive to that respect for the authority

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1. A History of the Church in England (London: 1954), p.344.
2. Narrative, pp.150-151. This is a reference to the series of British Critic articles written by the Wardians which had occasioned the Narrative.

> of primitive tradition and of the early Fathers, which was so much inculcated in the Tracts, and in other writings of their authors. The early Fathers and the primitive Church, according to this theory, represent Christianity only in germ, and undeveloped; we must look to the latest form of Christianity, i.e., to modern Romanism, as the most perfect model!"[1]

Two men in particular were responsible for this development within Tractarianism: Newman, whose Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine marked his secession from the Anglican communion, and Ward, whose Ideal precipitated the secessions of 1845. Even though Newman was the principal architect of the Tractarian Via Media, he had always distrusted rational systems, relying instead upon the "inner voice" of conscience. With, as he believed, the break-down of the Via Media in the early 1840's, he adopted the more subjective view of conscience and holiness as the vehicles of authority. But a craving for external authority was also a part of his psychological make-up. When the English Church, and finally his own bishop, made it evident that they would or could not fill that role, he went to a Church that could. He himself admitted that he had either to join the Roman Church or become an agnostic.

W. G. Ward did not go to Rome for the same reason. Authority resided in man's conscience and the role of any

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1. Ibid., note on p.151.

church was secondary. Ward's rejection of the static position was entire and unqualified - even to the point of virtually rejecting a historic faith. The only significant revelation was that given in the individual's obedience to his conscience. It followed that as more and more "saints" - those whose obedience had been most perfect - were developed, and, possibly, even as better saints were forthcoming, there was a greater and more authoritative body of revelation. Even as revelation was a process within the individual, it was a process within the whole community.[1]

Even after Newman and the Wardians had left the English Church, an element of this subjective progressivism remained within Anglo-Catholicism. In the twentieth century there was a pronounced recurrence of it. H. H. Kelly shows its influence when he writes, in 1913, of the authority of the "Christian instinct":

> "I am not appealing here to Church tradition as a mechanical authority, but merely as showing the continuous judgment of the common Christian instinct. I think we have a right to say, and that we ought to say, that the Holy Spirit of truth moves in the twentieth century not less than in the second century and in the fourth and in the sixteenth. We cannot, therefore, be bound by the views of our predecessors. But just because we believe in an Eternal Spirit, we ought not with an off-hand assumption to make the ideas of our times the standard,

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1. For more extensive discussion of Ward's views, Cf., above, Ch. II, p.154ff.

> and ourselves the judges between truth and superstition."[1]

Lacey too could not endorse the static presuppositions of the Tractarians. Their position, he said, simply forced its exponents to read back later ideas into the early period. In his opinion contemporary Anglo-Catholics had moved away from this view; he even went so far as to suggest that they were more influenced by Newman's Essay on Development than by such Tractarian and sub-Tractarian classics as Tract XC and Forbes' Explanation of the Thirty-Nine Articles. Lacey was candid enough to recognize the dangers implicit in this development: "... the habit of thinking in terms of absolute stability could not be dropped without anxiety and fear of aimless drifting."[2]

W. L. Knox's thought is another instance of this revival of progressivism within the Movement.[3] In dealing with the question of authority in his Catholic Movement, he states his position clearly. While he begins with the static view of Scripture "as the test of tradition," he goes on to say that the judgments of the undivided Church must be taken together with more recent legitimate developments. Furthermore, to the formal tradition must be

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1. The Church and Religious Unity, pp.104-105.
2. Anglo-Catholic Faith, p.48. Cf., especially Ch. IV: "Development."
3. As one of the writers in Essays Catholic and Critical, Knox reveals the direction in which Liberal Anglo-Catholicism was moving at the end of our period.

added the fact of Christian experience. The Church, he said, does not have absolute authority: in the first place it is limited by Scripture, and, in the second, by the devotional experience of Christianity:

> "Beliefs were rejected which denied either the fulness of the Godhead of Jesus or the reality of His manhood, in part because they were inconsistent with the Scriptures, but mainly because they were felt to be inconsistent with that devotion which all Christians had always rendered to Him."[1]

Religious authority is not dependent upon the historian: "This view is sometimes expressed in the form that the ultimate source of Christian authority is the religious experience of Christians."[2] This does not refer to an extraordinary experience of conversion or mystical communion, but to the ordinary facts of prayer, sacramental worship, etc. Knox emphasizes the corporate character of this experience: "Thus the religious consciousness of Christians, as to the truths implied in Christian devotion, or the religious experience of Christians, must be taken to refer not to the private devotion of the individual Christian, but to the corporate religious experience of the whole Christian body."[3] This, of course, gives Knox's thought an ecclesiological context which was not present in Ward's individualism.

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1. Catholic Movement, p.122.
2. Ibid., p.124.
3. Ibid., pp.126-127.

One implication of this position is that only Catholic Christendom is competent to judge legitimate development. This placed Knox, and those who thought with him, in the unfortunate controversial position of ruling out *a priori* anyone who disagreed with them:

> "This chapter may be summarised by the statement that the ultimate source of authority within the Church is God the Holy Ghost, guiding the corporate consciousness of the whole body of those who accept the Catholic system of faith and practice into a fuller and deeper understanding of the truths implied in their religious experience and devotional life. That experience and life are based on the revelation of God to man in the person of Our Lord Jesus Christ as recorded in the Holy Scriptures."[1]

But even by limiting valid experience to that of a particular form of Christian life, Knox is unable to avoid the dilemma in which the Anglo-Catholic finds himself when he tries to define this authoritative tradition in concrete terms. He rejects the conciliar definition as not entirely satisfactory because of the difficulty in determining the credentials of any given council, and the papal theory as even less acceptable. In the end he too arrives at a vague sort of Vincentian formula: "... the ultimate test of the measure of authority which any statement put forward by the Church can claim, is the extent to which it commands the universal acceptance of Christendom."[2] And as if this did not make the identification of any specific source

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1. *Ibid.*, pp.130-131.
2. *Ibid.*, p.144.

of authority difficult enough, he continues:

> "If then a statement wins final acceptance by the general consent of Christendom, it wins it because its truth is recognised. But the truth is inherent in the statement itself. Thus it is necessary to hold that infallibility resides in certain cases in the organ of authority, although the test of infallibility is the recognition of the corporate consciousness of Christendom. At the same time it is clear that if this view be accepted, the infallible guidance of the Holy Ghost must be regarded as manifesting itself in the corporate mind of the Church, no less than in the organ of authority. If this line of argument be accepted, it will follow that we shall look for infallibility rather in the general trend of Christian development than in the oracular infallibility of particular pronouncements."[1]

Through the Lux Mundi school, reason was introduced into the Movement, but not in a Rationalistic sense. Reason could be relied upon as an interpreter both of Scripture and tradition, but it could add no new revelation. The presuppositions of this school were definitely static. It simply advocated a more rational historical approach to the faith "once for all given."

There was also a strong papalist development within the Movement. But whereas most Anglo-Catholics would be willing to honor the See of St. Peter with Western primacy, they denied its occupant universal jurisdiction or extraordinary doctrinal authority. Some felt, as we have seen, that the Roman communion was a better expression of

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1. Ibid., p.145.

Catholic faith and practice than the Anglican, but the presuppositions were still static. Only the extreme Anglican Papalist would go so far as to accept anything like a doctrine of Papal infallibility. Even in Jones the essential arguments are static.

The general relationship between the static and progressive conceptions of revelation in the Anglo-Catholicism of our period can best be summarized in the following way: while the Movement as a whole accepted a static dogmatic authority, there was a progressive undercurrent which usually emerged only in the context of a particular problem, such as the justification of actions opposed to the local episcopate or the recognition of medieval and post-Tridentine developments of worship. In any event its understanding of the dogmatic form necessary to the visible unity of the Church was usually dependent upon the static assumptions.

Part II: Unity and Uniformity

In reviewing Eastern Orthodoxy's ecumenical relations with the Anglicans, Georges Florovsky observed that one of the principal difficulties has always been Anglican indifference to the question of doctrinal uniformity. This was true not only of official Anglicanism, but also of the various private advances of "Catholic" groups.[1]

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1. Of these the most important were the negotiations con-

Reviewing the Tractarian doctrine of the Church, he says:

> "It should be noted again that, according to this theory or interpretation, a very wide variety of doctrinal views and practices was compatible with essential unity. Or, in other words, the main emphasis was on the reality of the Church, and not so much on doctrine as such.
> "It was precisely at this point that a major misunderstanding between the Anglican and Orthodox Churches was bound to arise. Even though the Orthodox did not on all occasions openly and formally question the initial assumption of the Anglicans, it was inevitable that they should always insist upon identity in doctrine, and make the reality of the Church itself dependent upon the purity and completeness of the Faith. The basic obstacle to rapprochement between Anglicans and the Churches of the East lay precisely here."[1]

This comparison between the Eastern churches with their demand of doctrinal uniformity and the Anglo-Catholics [2] with their emphasis upon "the reality of the Church" is extremely useful. It points up a characteristic emphasis which we will discuss extensively in the following chapter. But the Anglo-Catholics were not Latitudinarians. Though not agreed on the details of the faith "once for all given," they were quite sure that "truth was one." Kelly accurately summed up their attitude in two brief sentences:

> "Truth there must be, and truth is one. Since individual thinking can only lead to endless

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ducted by the non-Jurors in the early eighteenth century and by the sub-Tractarians in the nineteenth.
1. "The Orthodox Churches and the Ecumenical Movement Prior to 1910," Rouse and Neill, History, pp.196-197.
2. The above comparison is based upon Palmer's Treatise, to which Florovsky refers "as the first systematic presentation of the Tractarian doctrine of the Church." Ibid., p.196.

> diversities, the unity of truth must lie with some authority from whom we should be content to receive it."[1]

It is for precisely this reason that they were so concerned with the doctrine of authority. The dogmatic principle, as it is often called, was fundamental to the Tractarian view of religion. Never proud of Anglicanism's "comprehensive" character, they were just as eager to deny the right of the Evangelicals to exist within the English Church as the Evangelicals were anxious to expell them. Newman's Via Media was not a compromise, it was a third and complete system based, as he believed, upon the faith and practice of the Primitive Church.

The Tracts clearly advocated dogmatic unity. In the twenty-third, A. P. Perceval said that only orthodox faith - in this case orthodox Christology - can assure the Church success in its battle against the demonic forces arrayed against it.[2] In the thirty-first, Newman said: "... the Christian Church was, in the beginning, set up in unity; unity of doctrine, or truth, unity of discipline, or Catholicism, unity of heart, or charity."[3] Comparing the Anglican with the Dissenting position in the thirty-sixth Tract, Perceval again uses a dogmatic standard. The Church

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1. The Church and Religious Unity, p.22.
2. "The Faith and Obedience of Churchmen, the Strength of the Church," Tracts, Vol. I.
3. "The Reformed Church," Tracts, Vol. I, p.2.

of England, he says, "receives and teaches the entire Truth of God according to the Scriptures; the Truth, the whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth."[1] Other religious bodies in England, he suggested, either teach too little of the truth, or too much. In the seventy-first Tract, Newman again defends the orthodoxy of the English Church, and therefore its right to be called Catholic.[2] He was willing to grant, however, that

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1. "Account of Religious Sects at Present Existing in England," Tracts, Vol. I, p.1.
2. In several places we have had occasion to note the Anglo-Catholic tendency to define "Catholic" as "orthodox" rather than "universal". Canon Ollard believed that this was one of Newman's basic difficulties: he "set out to prove to himself that the English Church was Catholic because it held the Catholic Faith." S. L. Ollard, A Short History of the Oxford Movement (London: 1915), p.81. This was the reason why the propaganda of the Dublin Review was so successful. The Churchman's Manual of 1833 does reveal that the Tractarians were aware of a double meaning - though the greater emphasis was placed upon doctrinal universality: "5. What is the meaning of the word Catholic? A. Universal. 6. Why is the Church called Catholic? A.1. Because it is universal in regard to time and space; being 'a people' 'taken out' of all nations, in all ages: 2. because it is universal in regard to doctrine; receiving and teaching 'all truth.'" The Churchman's Manual (London: 1834), p.52. Shaw gave the word four meanings: 1. world-wide diffusion; 2. the intention of being world-wide; 3. the complete doctrinal system; 4. continuity with the ancient Church. And, he continued, "the main points of the Early Tractarian teaching on this subject are clear: the Church Catholic ideally should be one visible, undivided Society, possessing all the notes mentioned in the Creed. Unfortunately that of unity is in certain respects lacking. Yet oneness in some measure persists because of the retention of the ancient Episcopal Ministry, and the body of doctrine handed down from the undivided Church." Early Tractarians, pp.32-33. Anglo-Catholics always emphasized the dual definition. Of the term E. J. Bicknell said: "... it was used to mark the contrast with heretical bodies that were local, peculiar

because of the Church's divisions, "Truth has not dwelt simply and securely in any visible Tabernacle,"[1] though the English Church had continued in its ancient ways, "keeping the nearest of any to the complete truth."[2]

Tractarians of all shades of opinion agreed in advocating dogmatic orthodoxy - as they understood that term. In writing to Dr. Hook, Pusey said: "This struggle is about the Catholic faith."[3] Palmer's whole Treatise rests upon a propositional view of revelation and the conviction that the acceptance of certain truths is a means to salvation: "I am not here arguing with infidels, and therefore may assume that Christianity was a revelation; that no revelation has superceded it; that it was to be proposed to men in all ages as the means of salvation; in fine, that some truth was actually revealed."[4] In

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and isolated in their views." Theological Introduction, p.246. Schism and heresy are somewhat confused. Stone pointed out that while the earliest usage - that of Ignatius - was primarily "universal," the later usage of St. Cyril of Jerusalem was much fuller: "As explained, then, by St. Cyril of Jerusalem, there are five aspects of the Catholicity of the Church. The Church is Catholic because it is, first, the Church of the whole world; secondly, the teacher of the whole truth; thirdly, the ruler of all classes of men; fourthly, the healer of all kinds of sins; and, fifthly, the conveyer of all kinds of virtue." Notes of the Church, p.56.

1. Tracts, Vol. III, p.29.
2. Ibid.
3. Liddon, Life, Vol. II, p.42. It is more difficult to accept another statement in that same letter: "We [Tract writers] are agreed what is Catholic." Ibid.
4. Treatise, Vol. II, p.35.

writing about the Jerusalem Bishopric, Deacon Palmer said that the first step must be to determine the orthodoxy of the German Church - this being a condition of communion: "We must take care first, that they themselves believe and accept the whole true Faith; and that, when consecrated, they will not extend our communion to others who reject any part of it."[1] He went on to point out that this meant more than a simple acceptance of the letter of the three creeds. Again, a writer in the British Critic said that, "The dogmatic principle is of the very substance and essence of Christianity."[2] In that same year, 1842, Ward wrote to de Lisle expressing his belief that reunion must be built upon common doctrine. "We must," he said, "make the English Church as a body orthodox in doctrine, that she may be ready healthily to unite with Christendom."[3]

Though they disagreed as to the extent of uniformity necessary, the sub-Tractarians and Liberal Catholics agreed that the dogmatic form was necessary to the visible Church. There is only one faith, said Forbes, and therefore only one correct set of revealed doctrines:

> "If God has given a revelation, the subject of that revelation must of necessity be the one only truth, and it becomes binding upon our

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1. Quoted in Shaw, Early Tractarians (p.107), from Appeal to the Scottish Bishops and Clergy, Introduction, Part II, Sect. i, pp.cxix-cxx.
2. "Palmer on Protestantism," British Critic, LXII (April, 1842), p.480.
3. Ward, W. G. Ward, p.200.

> conscience and mind because it is revealed. It may be a question which of two doctrines is revealed - but one or other must be right. Two opposite views cannot be equally well-pleasing to God."[1]

Lacey too was critical of the traditional Anglican laxity in doctrinal matters:

> "Too little account was taken of the passion with which men, orthodox or heretical, will press their beliefs. Too little importance was attributed to the right faith which alone can bind men together in the supernatural society of the Church... The objective notion of the Church which had seemed adequate in prosperity was found wanting in the day of ruin."[2]

One cannot speak significantly about the visible forms of unity, he said, without considering the totality of truth, the truth which is unity. This was the trouble with the plan put forward by the controversial Kikuyu Missionary Conference: "There was no equality, no mutuality."[3] Though Lacey's interest in doctrinal unity sprang from a different ecclesiology, it shared with Tractarianism this dogmatic principle. Weston reacted to Kikuyu along similar lines: "Truth is truth, as we have said, to be believed by all the moment they see it."[4] Comity arrangements and intercommunion without any alteration of existing doctrinal differences violated this principle. This reaction

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1. Lee, Sermons, p.258.
2. Unity of the Church, p.73.
3. Unity and Schism, p.124.
4. Case Against Kikuyu, p.55.

to Kikuyu on the part of Lacey and Weston was an expression of deep dissatisfaction with the course which much contemporary ecumenical thought was taking. Simple co-operation or federation of radically dissimilar communions could not satisfy the meaning of the term "unity."

If Anglo-Catholics were not Latitudinarians, neither were they confessionalists. Though they were not agreed "what was Catholic," as Pusey thought they were, in every detail, they did agree that a detailed theological system was not what they meant by dogmatic unity. A good example of this is the long series of sub-Tractarian ecumenical documents - beginning with Tract XC - in which the fundamental assumption was that reunion could be affected between Canterbury and Rome on the basis of those doctrines which could be said to be de fide, while the more detailed "popular" and "local" theological systems in which these were often incorporated could be treated as optional.[1] Though Pusey became disillusioned with this approach after the Vatican Council, many of the sub-Tractarians did not.[2]

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1. Some of the outstanding works are: Forbes, Explanation of the Thirty-Nine Articles (1867), Pusey's three Eirenicons (1865, 1869, 1870), Liddon's Preface to the Bonn Conference Report (1875), Lee's editorial policy in the Union Review(1863-), and anything written by Halifax.
2. Probably the real tragedy of this kind of ecumenical activity - carried so far in two instances by Halifax - was that these men would get considerable encouragement from the Gallicans, only to have their hopes dashed to the ground when it became evident that the Roman Church was not controlled by that party. The fact that they could never approach Roman officialdom in Great Britain should have warned them of the inevitable outcome of their efforts, but it never seemed to.

Even when the ecumenical interest of some Anglo-Catholics was extended to include non-episcopal churches, the idea of different doctrinal strata survived: Fr Kelly differentiated between truth and apprehension of truth; Williams between truth and its implications, or the faith of the undivided Church and later opinions; Sampson spoke of truth and definitions of truth; Stone said that there must be uniform acceptance of the central truths, not of derivative doctrines; and the Lux Mundi school talked about essential Catholic principles and varying theological restatements of those principles.

While nearly all accepted the distinction between essential and peripheral doctrines, there was no general agreement as to how much should be included in each category. Sometimes they insisted on a large irreducible minimum, while at other times they were satisfied with the acceptance of the three creeds and a few "principles." This difference was due, in part, to differing frames of reference. When dealing with those with whom they were anxious to come to terms for other reasons - usually because these bodies possessed valid episcopal ministries and maintained the Catholic traditions - they tended to play down doctrinal differences,[1] whereas when confronting

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1. Of relations with the Orthodox Church, for instance, Pusey said, after quoting remarks made by an Eastern Patriarch who revealed a friendly attitude towards the

those who were unacceptable for other reasons, doctrine became tremendously important.[1] But the differences even in relation to similar objects are best accounted for by the different ways in which Anglo-Catholics approached the question of revelation and the religious life.

In studying this question it becomes quite clear that Anglo-Catholics, of whatever school, placed a great deal of emphasis upon what can be called a "Catholic spirit" or attitude. The Tractarians believed that this spirit was best encouraged by accepting as much of God's revelation as possible. Their supernaturalism almost led them to rejoice in credulity. Doctrinally this attitude was evident in their willingness to accept any doctrine that could be proved to come from a Catholic, i.e., ancient, source. Newman said: "... we cannot know what doctrines are necessary; therefore it is better to go too far in

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English Church: "This coincides with an impression which some of us have entertained, that the restoration of union might be more easy with the Graeco-Russian Church, because we have only to satisfy each other as to our orthodoxy [a thing he thought easily done]; while, in other respects, each might live according to his own tradition." From the Introduction to F. G. Lee, ed., Essays on the Reunion of Christendom by members of the Roman Catholic, Oriental, and Anglican Communions (London: 1867), p.xxxvi.

1. Pusey is a notable exception to this generalization. He had a great interest in reunion with the Eastern churches, but he was not willing to sacrifice even the Filioque in order to secure that end because he felt the doctrinal issue to be crucial. He virtually stood alone on this. As Liddon put it: "He was no mere enthusiast for unity: the Faith was to him the primary consideration." Life, Vol. IV, p.292.

conscientiousness."[1] Only this principle could bring any dogmatism into Ward's system. The dogmatic system, he said, was an instrument useful in the creation of saints. Brilioth thus summarizes his thought on this point:

> "To be able to do this [produce saints] the Church must possess a complete and accurate system of moral, ascetic and mystical theology, as the result of her combined experience. To this must correspond an equally complete system of dogmatic theology. 'There is perhaps no one principle in all history on which there is so surprising a consilience of a priori reasoning with observed phenomena as on this: that any Church, which shall not contain at her centre a deep dogmatic theology, exuberant with life, indomitable in energy, that Church is languid in her spiritual functions, wavering and unauthoritative in ruling her own subjects, feeble and prostrate in her external relations. And what wonder? Saints are the very hidden life of a Church: and Saints cannot be nurtured on less than the full Catholic doctrine.' This agreement between doctrine and life is the reason of the claim to authority on the part of dogmatic theology."[2]

The objections raised to the Jerusalem Bishopric showed a similar attitude.[3] A writer in the British Critic was anxious lest such close association with a church unsound in the faith would have disastrous consequences: "And that love and duty which in common with all her sons we owe her [the English Church], compels us to raise a strong, grave

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1. Quoted in Brilioth, Anglican Revival, note on p.190.
2. Ibid., p.271.
3. Some Tractarians, like Palmer and Perceval, supported the scheme in the belief that the Prussian faith was not totally heretical, but simply needed certain forms of discipline.

and earnest protest against the first approach to that downward course, which would merge her eventually in the vague, barren, hopeless, shoreless, latitudinarian ocean of foreign Protestantism."[1] This was the rather incredible spirit in which J. R. Hope wrote to Gladstone suggesting the course which the German Church should have followed:

> "Had Prussia come to us humbled and penitent, complaining that the burden of separation from the Church Catholic was too heavy any longer to be borne, and that Rome would not relieve her of it, except upon unlawful conditions - had her ministers and laity brought their doctrines and offices under the review of our Bishops [the very Bishops, incidently, who had endorsed the scheme he was objecting to], and besought their sanction to what was right, their correction of that wrong - then none more gladly than I would have prayed that, as far as higher duties would allow, she should become one with us."[2]

Pusey's letter to the Archbishop in 1842 reveals this same basic dissatisfaction with the un-Catholic spirit of the arrangements.

All this presupposes a propositional view of revelation: Christ came to give men something to be believed. The apprehension of this body of belief, and the response to it in faith, was not necessarily intellectual - in fact, quite the opposite - but it was nevertheless embodied in

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1. "Bishopric of Jerusalem," British Critic, LXVII (July, 1843), p.139.
2. Quoted in Ornsby, J. R. Hope-Scott, p.327.

dogma by the divine will. Pusey could thus say that the "One common Faith" was "that which was given once for all, with anathema that we hold no doctrine at variance with it, although an Angel from Heaven were to preach it."[1] This conception of revelation had its advocates throughout our period, though the Liberal Catholics were not among them. Viscount Halifax was one of its most influential exponents. We find it implied in his Introduction to Jones' Holy See: "... there can be no greater duty imposed upon all who believe that God has made a revelation to man than to agree what that revelation is. It is the one condition upon which, in the long run, the maintenance of that revelation depends."[2] But Halifax also distinguished between that which was de fide and that which was simply opinion. "Has it not been made plain, if any fruitful discussion in the interests of reunion is to take place," he suggested, "what, in the Roman Catholic view, is the distinction between what is of faith and what is of theological opinion?"[3] Jones contrasted the party character of the English Church with the New Testament picture of the Church: "There we see a simple picture enough; a society of men believing what they are taught,

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1. Liddon, Life, Vol. II, p.56.
2. Holy See (2nd ed.), pp.xiii-xiv.
3. Further Considerations on Behalf of Reunion (London: 1923), p.30.

and abiding in the fellowship of those who teach it, and that he who does receive it will be saved, whereas he who rejects it will be damned."[1] To his mind the Roman Church had best preserved this doctrine of revelation, and those separated from that Church had lost its security: "...there is no denying what we have lost as regards the security of teaching, by our separation from the Holy See."[2] Nevertheless he also distinguishes between that which is de fide and that which is opinion.

One of the strongest statements on the necessity of dogmatic uniformity comes, surprisingly, from A. J. Mason who, in many respects, shared the Liberal Catholic perspective. In his Principles of Ecclesiastical Unity he seems to advocate absolute uniformity:

> "Christian unity has no model and pattern before it less perfect than the unity of the Father and the Son. This means an absolute coincidence of thought and of will between person and person."[3]

And,

> "To bind all hearts and consciences together in willing fellowship, the uniting principle must be the principle of common faith. The Church is the bearer of a Gospel to the World. She is charged with a Divine Revelation. There can be no unity between those who conceive of that Gospel in contrary ways, and whose accounts of the revelation are altogether at variance with each other."[4]

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1. Holy See, p.vii.
2. Ibid., p.213.
3. Principles of Unity, p.36.
4. Ibid., pp.34-35.

And yet again: "There is nothing more insisted upon in the Bible than the obligation of strict adherence to sound doctrine."[1] In Mason both spirit and content (will and thought) seem indispensably necessary. But upon closer investigation it is evident that this is simply a strong statement of the usual Anglo-Catholic view. In the second chapter of the book from which we have been quoting, Mason explains that this kind of unity is "a future hope." In the meantime only a unity of fundamentals can be expected - a careful distinction once more being made between things necessary to salvation and peripheral opinions or interpretations. These fundamentals consisted in those doctrines which concern the person of Christ. This approach to the question of doctrinal unity is common among twentieth century Anglo-Catholics like Stone and Pullan; but there was another development which, though arriving at a similar conclusion, placed less stress upon the dogmatic temper. The Lux Mundi school was responsible for this development. While these men agreed that a minimum of doctrine was necessary, they did not share the Tractarian and sub-Tractarian attitudes towards dogma.

The Lux Mundi school had much in common with the traditional Anglican Highchurchmanship which had always had a place in the Movement. Palmer, who in 1843

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1. Ibid., p.41.

repudiated the extreme developments within the Movement, is possibly the best example of this in the Tractarian period. Heresy, he insisted in his Treatise, is more a state of mind than a doctrinal disagreement: "Heresy is the pertinacious denial of some truth certainly revealed."[1] He did not think that divergence from a particular ecclesiastical opinion was a particularly serious offense. Heresy should be clearly defined and the proof of it subject to elaborate precautions. Error, he said, is not always heresy, and even so there is no scriptural promise that the Church will be without it: "... actual unity in all matters of faith, cannot be a note by which we can easily discriminate the church from sects."[2] Palmer was primarily concerned with the being of the Church - an existence ensured by the maintenance of certain principles, not a body of dogma. The preference for the word "principles" over "dogma" or "doctrines" is characteristic of this type of thought. That Palmer was more interested in these principles than in doctrinal agreement is revealed in the distinction he draws between foreign Protestants and English Dissent. Of the Continental Reformation he says:

> "Since, therefore, the churches of the foreign Reformation, during the sixteenth century, were not devoid of principles, which, if rightly applied, would lead to unity in faith

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1. Treatise, Vol. I, p.73.
2. Ibid., p.96.

> and communion; since there is no evidence that they were guilty of schism or heresy; since they did not generally deny the necessity of good works or sanctity of life; since they did not separate themselves from the communion of all nations, but were willing to hold communion with all catholic churches, and were actually in communion with many nations; since their deficiency in the apostolic succession of the ministry appears to have been a matter of necessity (to a considerable extent), and they were not in principle or in fact wholly cut off from the communion of the successors of the apostles [evidently a reference to the Anglican Church], it seems impossible to deny that they constituted, on the whole, a portion of the catholic church, though it is unquestionable that errors and even heresies were taught by some of their members. In this respect, however, they were superior to the Roman churches, in which idolatries and errors of a far more pernicious description were widely disseminated."[1]

Yet his treatment of the Dissenting bodies in Britain, which had doctrinal affinities with the Continental churches, reveals that the schismatic temper was a much more important factor in his thought:

> "The dissenting system, the principle of dissent, is the cause of all their divisions; it leads necessarily to tumult, division, separation, heresy without limit; it leads to the conclusion that schism is altogether inoffensive, and may be made a matter of joke; and it actually leads to the adoption of this Antichristian principle into their system, as highly salutary, and even essential to its proper working!"[2]

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1. Ibid., pp.300-301.
2. Ibid., p.309. The cynic might conclude that the only real difference between these two classes of denominations was that the latter committed the unpardonable sin of breaking away from the Anglican Church, whereas the former

An even earlier exposition of this position is found in Hook's sermon on unity, published in 1838. "The system of the Church has... always been," he said, "to preserve the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, by insisting not on an identity of subordinate opinion, but simply on an identity of principle."[1] And the principle to which his own is opposed is plainly identified as, "not merely that the Bible and the Bible only ought to be our religion, but also that the Bible is to be understood by each person in that sense which he is persuaded by argument to regard as the true sense; and that he is then to unite himself with that society of Christians with whom the same or similar arguments have been productive of the same effect. This principle is, of course, subversive of union."[2] Again the maintenance of the body, the being of the Church, is of primary importance. This emphasis was responsible for the Anglo-Catholic preoccupation with orders and sacraments.[3]

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remained in communion with it, though not with the Catholic Church in its own locality - even though this clearly violates the principles of the branch theory.

1. A Call to Union, p.6.
2. Ibid., p.20.
3. Though, strictly speaking, this is the subject of the following chapters, a quotation from E. L. Blenkinsopp on this subject will not be out of place here. He is speaking of the Church's unity with Christ: "That this union is not effected by merely believing in a certain system of theology, or in the Revelation of God in the Bible; but, being essentially spiritual, only effected through those means by which spiritual gifts are conveyed to man. That those means are the Sacraments, which may be termed 'extensions

It is an interesting fact that Gore's biographer, and those who disagreed with him theologically, often portray him as a dogmatist. Such a portrait is deceptive. He did, on numerous occasions, suggest that the maintenance of the faith depended on certain doctrines, but he did not do so because he was by temper dogmatic. Quite to the contrary, it was because he reduced the dogmatic content of the faith to a bare minimum that any tampering with that remnant was so serious a thing. His essential conception of religion was undogmatic: any book written by him provides ample evidence of this. In one of his earliest, Roman Catholic Claims, he said, after having discussed dogma: "But we must urge that a scriptural tone in theology, a scriptural spirit pervading all a Church's literature, is at least as essential a sign of healthy life [as dogmatism], and there is a great deal in Scripture which puts severe curb on the dogmatic temper."[1] He goes on to distinguish between truth and dogma:

> "Further, let us not be alarmed when we are told that our rule of faith admits of no certainty. It admits indeed of as much certainty and definiteness, as a Christian who recognizes that truth is not coincident with dogmatic formulas can need to ask. Dogma is not a substitute for truth, but a

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of the Incarnation,' or means whereby the benefits of the Incarnation are applied to man." "Reunion of the Church," in O. Shipley, ed., The Church and the World (London: 1866), p.183.

1. Roman Catholic Claims, p.72.

> guide to its apprehension. To accept a dogma on the Church's external authority is only the first step to apprehending it for ourselves. Indeed till 'dogma' has ceased to be a mere dogma, and becomes a part of our own spiritual apprehension, we are not developed Christians, 'spiritual men,' and private judgment is only in error where it refuses to be enlightened by the catholic judgment."[1]

It is well known that Gore often called himself a "free thinker."[2] This spirit is especially evident in his reduction of the dogmatic requirements to a minimum. At one place he suggests that the only essentials are "the catholic creeds and sacraments and the requirements of Holy Orders."[3] Beyond this, he suggested, the early Church allowed a great deal of variation: "The ancient Church would have us minimize rather than maximize the dogmatic requirement."[4] In another book he said: "For my own part, it seems to me a very tolerable state of things that a Church should subsist on a very limited amount of positive dogmatic requirement..."[5] And yet again: "The imposition of a dogma as a condition of communion is a necessary evil which should be kept within the

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1. Ibid., pp.72-73. There is quite a difference between Newman's belief that the Catholic must accept doctrine almost because it is credulous to do so, and Gore's acceptance of reason (private judgment), "enlightened" and informed by the "catholic judgment," as the standard of truth.
2. Cf., "Charles Gore," Forman, Great Christians, p.221.
3. Anglo-Catholic Movement, p.27.
4. Ibid., p.28.
5. Mission of the Church, p.53.

smallest limits possible in view of the Church's safety: and a Church shows her life not by creating new dogmas but by living on the old faith and 'commending it to every man's conscience' by rendering it intelligible in view of new needs to a new generation of men."[1] This attitude was also reflected in his Lux Mundi essay, where it is specifically related to the idea of principle:

> "The Church must have her terms of communion, moral and intellectual: this is essential to keep her fundamental principles intact, and to prevent her betraying her secret springs of strength and recovery. But short of this necessity she is tolerant."[2]

T. A. Lacey shared this attitude towards dogma. In quoting favorably from Mackenzie, he did something the Tractarians would never have done - more or less put forward the Anglican dogmatic comprehensiveness as an ideal: "... the Church of England is the nearest thing there is to a microcosm of the Christian World, and displays to that world the extraordinary spectacle of what is possible in the way of unity between men whose beliefs and temperaments are as different as ours."[3] At another place he observes that for Paul the unity of the Church is almost more important that its faith [4] - implying that

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1. Roman Catholic Claims, p.56.
2. Lux Mundi, p.332.
3. Anglo-Catholic Faith, p.9.
4. Unity and Schism, p.15.

unity of being is prior to unity of doctrine, - though he does agree that "there must be some definition of Christianity."[1] One must not imagine that Lacey had become a Latitudinarian when he says, as he does in another place, that the only necessary mark of dogmatic unity is the confession that "Christ is God," for he is speaking of the essential unity, the unity of the spirit, not the unity of the body. The latter unity, the bond of peace, involved agreement on much more than this simple formula. What is important here is that this represents an entirely different view of religious priorities. It is the person of Christ that gives Christianity, the Church, its being and continued existence, not the propagation of certain revealed propositions.

While it has become clear that Tractarians and sub-Tractarians with their essential dogmatism, and Liberal Catholics with their moral categories and talk of principles rather than dogmas, did not spend a great deal of time in working out the details of a dogmatic system which they could all then accept as the doctrinal basis of a reunited Church, there was some individual effort, when challenged by particular circumstances, to decide upon the precise content of the "irreducible minimum." It is a remarkable fact that Anglo-Catholics were not united in this effort,

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1. Ibid., p.88.

or agreed upon any results from it. Whatever their agreement in the general way of looking at the Church and tradition as the source or at least mediator of authority, they, in themselves, might be regarded as a microcosm of Anglicanism as a whole - there was no systematic agreement. Certain common principles and doctrines do emerge from a study of their relations with other groups, however, and it will be useful to consider them briefly.

The Lambeth Conference of 1888 approved the following Resolution as a basis for discussion with non-episcopal churches:

> "11. That, in the opinion of this Conference, the following Articles supply a basis on which approach may be by God's blessing made towards Home Reunion:-
> a. The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as 'containing all things necessary to salvation,' and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith.
> b. The Apostles' Creed, as the Baptismal Symbol; and the Nicene Creed, as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith.
> c. The two Sacraments ordained by Christ Himself - Baptism and the Supper of the Lord - ministered with unfailing use of Christ's words of Institution, and of the elements ordained by Him.
> d. The Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the Unity of His Church."[1]

Though Anglo-Catholics rightly interpreted this Quadrilateral as a *terminus a quo* - a basis for discussion, not the only

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1. The Lambeth Conferences (1869-1948), pp.296-297. Cf. Appendix C, below, p.550ff.

conditions of reunion, - it does, with alterations in details, put forward those principles which they themselves regarded as constituting the essence of dogmatic unity. This point can be made without difficulty from the writings of various schools.

The Tractarian Rule of Faith necessarily implied the first two points of the Quadrilateral - in so far as the creeds were the official expression of the mind of the ancient Church. And their emphasis upon episcopal succession as a necessary link between the present and past was closely related to the sacraments - the fourth and third points. The essentials of their system thus roughly correspond to the 1888 Resolution. In various sub-Tractarian statements on faith and order we find these same essentials implied. Take, for example, a letter Pusey wrote to the Bishop of London in 1851:

> "... although there is still enough in the unity of that Faith which was delivered from the first, in the common sacraments, in common Apostolic descent, in union in our One Lord, in common prayer, and, I trust, notwithstanding appearances on both sides, in love, we must admit that Unity is not such as it was in St. Augustine's time."[1]

The E.C.U. anticipated the Quadrilateral by some twenty-five years when, in 1863, they sent a memorandum to the Archbishop of Canterbury suggesting the following basis for intercommunion with the Scandanavian churches:

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1. Quoted in Liddon, Life, Vol. III, pp.299-300.

> "... the acceptance, first, of the Bible as the inspired Word of God; secondly, of the Catholic Creeds; thirdly, of the two great Sacraments of the Gospel, and other ordinances of Apostolic authority; and, fourthly, the recognition of the Apostolic Succession of the Episcopate."[1]

In 1873 the Home Reunion Society was founded by Anglo-Catholics with the following declaration of purpose:

> "The Purpose of the Society shall be to present the Church of England in a conciliatory attitude towards those who regard themselves as outside her pale, so as to lead to the corporate reunion of all Christians holding the doctrines of the Ever-Blessed Trinity and the Incarnation and Atonement of our Lord Jesus Christ. The Society, though it cannot support any scheme of comprehension compromising the three Creeds, or the Episcopal Constitution of the Church, will be prepared to advocate all reasonable liberty in matters not contravening the Church's Faith, Order or Discipline."[2]

These same principles were put forward in a sermon by Bishop Browne, who was long associated with the Home Reunion Society:

> "We cannot give up our Faith, there will be nothing for us to fight for then, so we cling to the ancient Creeds, in which all foundation faith is summed up. We must have organization, or it is impossible to live and work together. None can be simpler, none other for all men is possible, except that organization, which we have inherited through the long lapse of ages from the first century of the Faith. On these we take our stand, and then we throw our arms and our hearts open to all."[3]

Though the higher ground of apostolic succession is not

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1. Quoted in Roberts, English Church Union, p.53. Not a word was said about heretical doctrine.
2. Quoted in Brandreth, Oecumenical Ideals, p.63.
3. Ibid., p.64.

taken here, the principle of a continuity of existence implies it. Writing in 1885, Liddon said that the validity of the Church's claim to be within the visible unity of the Church Catholic depended upon its possession of creed and commission: "... although strictly visible, and unimpaired unity of will and communion best accords with the will of God, yet that unity is not altogether forfeited when portions of the Church are, for a while, separated from and opposed to each other, provided they retain a hold upon the Faith and structure of the Church, as our Lord has revealed them."[1] Here, as in some of the above references, the difference between sufficient marks of unity and those desirable to the full unity of the Church is quite obvious. While these minimal conditions do provide for what must be called an extraordinary unity of dogma and life, much more would be necessary in any scheme of reunion. In brief, these conditions simply validate the sacramental life of the communion possessing them - they do not satisfy or accord with God's will. In the Preface to the Bonn Conference Report, Liddon anticipates the Quadrilateral by some eleven years [2] when he discusses the principles which the Old Catholics and Anglicans share:

"They construe Scripture, not by the caprice of

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1. Quoted in Johnston, H. P. Liddon, p.338.
2. The Quadrilateral was first drawn up at the Chicago Convention of the American Church in 1886.

> individual judgment, but by the authoritative light of ancient consent. They persistently cling to the Catholic Episcopate, and to the solemn realities of Sacramental Grace. Yet they give all due prominence to the moral and spiritual side of Christian teaching; among them the Bible and the Christian instructor are not thrown into the background by the Christian Altar and the Christian priest."[1]

In his history, Dean Church wrote that for the Tractarians the creeds, hierarchy, Scriptures, and sacramental idea were "equally in the same class of facts."[2] Writing in 1905, Earl Nelson reflected the influence of the Quadrilateral without any reference to it as such: "But this Church must ever be a teaching Church [ecclesia docens] having: (1) the Creeds; (2) the Sacraments; (3) the Holy Scriptures; (4) the Apostolic ministry."[3]

After 1888 Anglo-Catholic ecumenists tended to couch their principles in the specific terms of the Quadrilateral, possibly for the reason which Brandreth has suggested:

> "It must, however, be admitted that its [the Quadrilateral's] use has not always been such as its framers intended [a reference to the tendency in some quarters to regard it as the terminus ad quem of reunion], yet, as the great American theologian, Dr. Francis J. Hall, wrote in 1930: '... the declaration of 1886 still stands as the most official statement of the Anglican position with regard to reunion.'"[4]

Of Gore's attitude to Nonconformity, Prestige says: "For

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1. Bonn Report, p.xlviii.
2. Oxford Movement, p.142.
3. Home Reunion, p.260.
4. Unity and Reunion, p.xvii.

the most part Nonconformists have not the fundamental Catholic idea of Church and creed and sacraments and ministry, without which all reunion will be fallacious and impermanent."[1] This, of course, reflects the practice of Gore himself, who, when outlining those things essential to the Church's visible unity, said that they were "the catholic creeds and sacraments and the requirements of Holy Orders."[2] With some variation, Williams also accepted the Quadrilateral as the test of the Church: "The criteria, by which the claims of any religious body to be a full and lawful member of the Holy Catholic Church must be tested, are three in number - viz., orthodox belief, as defined by the seven Ecumenical Councils: the possession of a threefold ministry, descended by true and lawful commission from the Apostles: and the right use of the Sacraments, as well the five lesser as the two greater."[3]

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1. Gore, p.453.
2. Anglo-Catholic Movement, p.27.
3. Kikuyu Opinion, p.9. Unlike most of his fellows, Williams tried to work out the dogmatic content of this position: "The doctrine of the 'Great Church,' as it stood on the eve of 1054, includes, first of all, the main fabric of Trinitarian and Christological dogma, including, of course, the beliefs in our Lord's virginal Birth, bodily Resurrection, and Ascension into Heaven; the presuppositions of Christian soteriology known as the doctrines of the Fall and Original Sin; belief in Christ's atoning Death as objectively bringing within our reach that salvation which we could never have earned for ourselves; the doctrines of the Sacraments as the means of grace, of the Real Presence and the Eucharistic sacrifice; of the grace of Orders and the necessity of the episcopal succession from the

It is evident that while accepting the broad outline of the Quadrilateral, Anglo-Catholics altered the details. They would accept the first point on the Scripture as the ultimate rule of faith without any difficulty. In relation to the second they would tend to insist upon three rather than two creeds - the prospect of omitting the Athanasian Creed from certain services during the sub-Tractarian period caused a great deal of controversy, with Pusey insisting that to do so would be to compromise the whole faith. Many Anglo-Catholics would also insist upon some recognition of seven sacraments, though, with the exception of the extreme Papalists, they only regarded the dominical sacraments as essential. In relation to the sacraments, and the Holy Communion in particular, they also tended to insist that certain things should be believed about them - the thing in itself, without the Catholic interpretation, would not suffice.[1] Much the same was true of the last point - the historic episcopate. The Tractarians and their disciples insisted upon the doctrine of apostolic succession as well as the fact - although this tendency was not so strong among the Liberal Catholics. Speaking of the English

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Apostles; of the Church's absolving power in Penance; of Confirmation and Unction; of the Communion of Saints; and of the last things, Heaven and Hell, and the intermediate state, and the Last Judgment. There is surely enough information here to satisfy even the most passionate cravings for dogmatic authority..." Anglo-Catholic Congress, 1920, p.67.

1. Cf., below, Ch. V: "Sacramental Unity."

Church's practice, which he endorsed, Gore said: "Thus she requires that men should in fact have received their ministry by apostolic succession, whereas on the other hand she does not require any exact or explicit expression of belief in regard to it."[1] Brilioth, I think quite correctly, found the reason for this in Tractarianism itself. For practical reasons, he observed, the Tractarians, like many of their successors, found it necessary to place a great deal of emphasis upon the successio apostolica, even though its place in their system was secondary. Brilioth does not pay sufficient attention to this fact, however. He points out that the early thought of Froude and Newman did not give the doctrine undue prominence, nor did Newman's later (Anglican) sermons. In that context it was simply another one of the bonds that connected the present with the ancient Church, and not a sine qua non for "the existence of a Church as Church."[2] His failure to give sufficient consideration to the tenacity with which High Churchmen had always clung to this doctrine, and without which a church was not a church in the full sense, and his evident depreciation of the importance, in Tractarian thought, of anything that bound the present with the past, made it difficult for him to appreciate the doctrine's survival. He oversimplified the significance

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1. Mission of the Church, p.52.
2. Anglican Revival, p.182.

of the doctrine by suggesting that its later usage was simply the unwarranted perpetuation of the earlier practical use:

> "Even long after the idea had been put back by theologians in the connection where it properly belongs - this happened in part during the Oxford Movement - even after the untenableness of the construction of history, on which it rests, had been displayed, successio apostolica has remained the shibboleth of Neo-Anglicanism, which sometimes the lips cannot case to repeat, even after the brain has become aware of the limits of its importance."[1]

His interest in the sacramental side of the Movement made him lose sight of the fact that Anglo-Catholicism as a whole had retained the static conception of the Church with which this doctrine was so closely allied. At the same time it had an important relationship to the increasing emphasis on the sacraments. That the sermons did not contain any enthusiastic reference to the doctrine of apostolic succession [2] simply illustrates its supporting or secondary role, not its unimportance. The fact of succession as a guarantee of sacramental validity could not be expected to be the stuff of which sermons are made - in them the primary sacramental piety would always predominate. There is also the simple fact that the growing opposition to the Movement from the episcopal bench

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1. Anglican Revival, p.184.
2. This led Brilioth to draw the conclusion that, "This seems best to show how preponderantly this idea belonged to the polemic armoury, not to the inner closet of living faith." Ibid., p.192.

was an embarrassment which did not encourage energetic preaching on the subject. Again, since their argument was primarily with those within the Anglican - or Roman - Church, the succession was more assumed than talked about. Though this sort of analysis emphasizes the fact more than the doctrine - and Brilioth was more concerned with the latter - the two could not be separated. This became evident when, towards the end of the century, Anglo-Catholic ecumenists became interested in non-episcopal as well as episcopal bodies.

The relevance of this doctrine was not limited to Church government - it had a relationship with the whole faith and life of the Church. Peck, for instance, chose the following quotation from Elie Halevy's History of the English People to summarize the Tractarian position:

> "Their argument has been thus summarized: the centre of the Christian religion is the Eucharist, and its celebration has been entrusted by God to the Bishops and their delegates the priests. Hence the Episcopate is a divine institution. To suppress bishoprics as parliament had just done [in 1833] was to outrage the dogma of apostolic succession and to usurp the prerogative of God."[1]

The argument of men like Palmer and Rose leaned heavily

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1. Social Implications, p.41. If taken to refer to the Tractarian period itself (1833-1845) this passage is reading back a stronger emphasis upon the Eucharist than actually existed at that time - this was more true of the sub-Tractarians and Ritualists - but it does accurately record the priorities even then evident.

upon the assumption that if Continental Protestant churches had maintained the succession their faith would not have degenerated into Rationalism and Socinianism as, they believed, it had. While the faith was primary, the succession was also important.[1] From this same perspective, Pullan said of Weston's position in the Kikuyu controversy: "The Bishop of Zanzibar had the acumen to observe that a defense of the Apostolic ministry will be necessarily associated with a defense of the Apostolic faith in Christ and a defense of the Apostolic books."[2] A similar relationship between faith, life, and succession is evident in the following comment of Sampson's: "We propose... in conclusion to show that all the Christian Churches in separating from the Catholic Church lost a vital part of Catholic truth, namely, the faith and worship of our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament, the central truth of the whole Catholic Church both East and West, and that until they retain it through a ministry with Apostolic Orders, unity is impossible with them, for it is as destructive to unity to take from Catholic truth as it is to add to Catholic truth as the Roman Catholic Church has done."[3]

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1. Cf. Tract I5, "The Apostolical Succession in the English Church," Tracts, Vol. I. Though edited by Newman this Tract is largely the work of Palmer and is a good brief exposition of the position. It was not popular with the more radical members of the Movement.
2. Missionary Principles, pp.iv-v.
3. Catholic Truth and Unity, p.5.

When engaged in ecumenical discussions the Anglo-Catholics sometimes concerned themselves with more detailed doctrinal questions, i.e., beyond the maintenance of these four principles which we have been considering. This activity was usually individual, and the details one person or one ecumenical society regarded as necessary would not necessarily be accepted by another. In other words, while Anglo-Catholics often insisted upon a more detailed dogmatic system, there was little agreement, beyond the principles we have discussed, as to the content of that system. Often this concern with particular doctrines, other than those concerning the eucharist or the episcopacy, would only become evident when those doctrines seemed to be threatened by Protestants within the Anglican Church. They violently contested, for instance, the official recognition of a man whose views on baptismal regeneration were not considered to be sound, or the proposed removal of the damnatory clauses of the Athanasian Creed, etc. In the ecumenical field their concerns varied in relation to the object. With the Eastern Church, for instance, the issue was usually over the Filioque, though those who entered into more detailed negotiations with the Graeco-Russian churches knew that much more was involved. Many felt that their own static principles would allow, if not necessitate, the removal of the Filioque, but others, like Pusey, somewhat

illogically felt that to do so would involve concessions to contemporary Liberalism and weaken the faith of worshippers accustomed to its use: "For such an act would probably involve in them the disbelief of the Eternal Procession of the Holy Ghost altogether," and this would undoubtedly lead to their losing "the faith in the mode of His eternal existence altogether, probably of His existence also as One person in the Adorable Trinity."[1] His disciple, Liddon, did not see the matter in this light, however - and his was the more typical attitude. The Filioque, he believed, was an illegitimate intrusion into the Western creed, and could quite easily be removed in the interests of reunion - though he did not think that the Orthodox would make such a demand.[2] On the whole, the sub-Tractarian ecumenists believed that the important point of agreement with the East - the one that would ultimately solve their present difficulties - was their similar interpretation of the Rule of Faith. In assuming that their common rejection by Rome would provide a bond of sympathy which would overcome any doctrinal differences, these men often underestimated the real extent of disagreement between the Orthodox and the Anglicans.

With the Roman Church the matter was not so simple. Anglo-Catholic relations with Rome can roughly be divided,

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1. Introduction, Lee, Essays, pp.xlii-xliii.
2. Cf. Preface, Bonn Report, p.xli.

as we suggested in the first chapter, into two periods: before and after the Vatican Council. In the first period the main emphasis was upon the separation of official from popular doctrines. It was believed that official explanations could be offered on both sides which would be mutually acceptable and would erase the misunderstanding and ill-will which largely accounted for the continued separation of the churches. Therefore doctrinal differences were not taken as seriously as they should have been. After 1870 the main problem was the doctrine of papal infallibility - which, prior to that time, the Gallicans had assured the Anglo-Catholics would never be made official. Many adopted the view that since Rome had changed before it could change again - to adopt the Gallican conciliarism. There was no agreement with respect to other Roman doctrines. Some followed Ward in virtually accepting "the full round" of Roman doctrine, while others, like Gore, believed that to do so without also accepting the doctrine of papal infallibility was meaningless. Most rested somewhere between - accepting or rejecting doctrines peculiar to the Roman Church largely on the basis of devotional or sacramental standards. They were most strongly influenced by Roman sacramental doctrine: the use of confession and unction, of Roman offices in the conduct of the Mass, of extra liturgical devotions to the sacrament,

are all cases in point.[1]

With Protestantism the discussion seldom went beyond primary principles. The differences here were so basic that even the first principles could not be assumed, and the common Tractarian attitude that in so far as Protestantism did contain truth it was in an incomplete form which needed to be "filled out" with Catholic doctrine, did not encourage real conversation. The association of Rationalism with Protestantism, and the heated controversy between Catholic and Protestant in the sub-Tractarian period did not encourage anything like an objective approach. Nevertheless, even in relation to Protestant doctrine there was a difference of opinion ranging from that of old High Churchmen like Palmer and Hook, who believed that the classical Protestant faith was essentially sound though not

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1. Some of the Roman doctrines and practices which were either rejected or regarded as needing explanation and divorcement from the official position were as follows. Newman: papal infallibility, mariology, communion in one kind, image-worship, invocation; Palmer: invocation, use of images in worship, transubstantiation, seven sacraments, papal infallibility; Pusey: mariology (primary), purgatory, indulgences, communion in one kind, clerical celibacy, eucharistic sacrifice (explanation), the relationship between intention and sacramental validity, justification, satisfaction, adoration of Christ in the eucharist, cultus of images, the number of sacraments, deutero-canonical books, primacy of Rome; Littledale: invocation, image-worship, relics, cult of the Blessed Virgin, communion in one kind, Latin liturgy, biblical study, indulgences, purgatory, traffic in masses, marriage dispensation. Some would accept or explain in a favorable way, all of these with qualifications concerning papal jurisdiction only.

complete, to the views of those who rejected all things Protestant as hopelessly heretical. In any even it was obvious that, in the opinion of most Anglo-Catholics, any reunion with these bodies would involve doctrinal as well as structural changes on their part. This is a fact which overemphasis upon demanded structural changes, i.e., the adoption of episcopal order, often obscures. The simple acceptance of either Scripture or creeds, without further assurance of a Catholic interpretation of them, would not have satisfied most Anglo-Catholics as to the validity of a communion's dogmatic form. A random sampling of opinion on this question will, I think, make this fact quite clear. Froude's editors, for instance, reacted strongly, and typically, against the very spirit of Protestantism. They ask their readers to "take into consideration likewise certain less palpable but not less substantial differences in the way of thinking and moral sentiment, which separate the Reformers from the Fathers, more widely, perhaps, than any definite statements of doctrine."[1] They go on to compare the two groups on fasting, celibacy, religious vows, voluntary retirement and contemplation, memory of saints, rites and ceremonies recommended by antiquity, self-denial, and the indiscriminate giving of religious knowledge:

"... there can be little doubt that the tone of

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1. Remains, Part II, Vol. I, p.xxviii.

> the fourth century is so unlike that of the sixteenth on each and all of these topics, that it is absolutely impossible for the same mind to sympathize with both. You must choose between the two lines: they are not only diverging, but contrary."[1]

Tract 36 finds Presbyterians, Independents, and Methodists deficient in dogma because they "do not receive or teach the Truth respecting the doctrine of 'laying on of hands,' which St. Paul classes among the fundamental doctrines of Christianity."[2] Here the problem to which we referred above comes forward: the episcopacy must be placed in the context of Catholic doctrine. In the Jerusalem Bishopric controversy this demand for Catholic doctrine was quite evident. Newman was explicit:

> "As to the question whether Lutheranism and Calvinsim be heresies, I should say that doctrines which 'sprang up three centuries since,' and have been anathematised, not by one part of the Church only, but 'by East as well as West,' are such by the definition of heresy[3]. And if so, unless we of the English Church have pronounced them heresies, or at least implicitly hold them to be such, I do not see what business I have to be a member of it... [Lutheranism and Calvinism] are heresies just in the sense in which Pelagianism is."[4]

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1. Ibid., p.xxix.
2. Tracts, Vol. I, p.4. The writers of the Tract are somewhat puzzled by the position of the Moravians whom they suspected without having good reasons for doing so: "The Moravians are purposely omitted: for they cannot well be said to be opposed to the Church. They lay claim also to an Apostolic or Episcopal Ministry, though it is believed that they are unable to substantiate the succession." Ibid., p.5.
3. "Heresy has its external notes like the Church. Any novel doctrine, any doctrine which meets with general condemnation is heresy." Quoted in Ornsby, Memoirs, pp.321-322.
4. Ibid., pp.311-312.

And in another letter to Hope he said:

> "What has startled me in this reported measure is this: the setting of Bishops to preside over Protestant bodies. Those who have been for centuries separated from the Episcopal succession, and who are in the profession of heresy, require reconciliation. They should come into the Church, not the Church set Bishops over them, as she finds them."[1]

On the same occasion Bishop Phillpotts raised the objection that the scheme would involve accepting the Augsburg Confession as well as a communion with a "grievously defective" liturgy.[2] Pusey was even more specific - once he came around to Newman's side:

> "Still less, I own, can I see... how the picture of an United Church could be presented by an English and Lutheran congregation, of which the one holds 'One Holy Catholic Church, throughout all the world,' knit together by its Bishops, as 'joints and bands,' under its One Head, Christ, and joined on by unbroken succession to the Apostles; the other, an indefinite number of Churches, hanging together by an agreement in a scheme of doctrine framed by themselves, and modified by the civil power; of which the one holds Confirmation to be the act of the Bishop, the other deems such unnecessary but accepts it for its younger members: the one holds Ordination to be derived from the Apostles; the other, that Presbyters, uncommissioned, may confer it, and that those on whom it has been so conferred, may consecrate the Holy Eucharist: the one recites the Creed of Nicea, the other has laid it aside: in the one, ancient prayer, the inspired Psalms, and hearing God's Word, are the chief part of their weekly service; in the other, uninspired hymns and preaching, with

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1. Ibid., p.320.
2. Quoted in Liddon, Life, Vol. III, p.78.

> prayer extempore: the one kneel in prayer, the other not even at the Holy Eucharist: with the one, the Lord's Day is a Holy Day, with the other a holyday: the one receives 'the Faith' as 'once for all delivered to the saints'; the other as susceptible of subsequent correction and development: the one rests her authority and the very titles of her existence on being an Ancient Church, the other boasts itself modern: the one, not founded by man, but descended of that founded on the day of Pentecost; the other dating itself from Luther, and claiming to be the parent of all, not in outward communion with the great Eastern and Western Branches, and so of our own Church by whom it was originally converted: the one recognizes and has been recognized by the Ancient Church of the East, the other rejects her and is anathematized by her. Still less is there any hope, that by receiving Ministers ordained by our Bishops, they express any wish to be received into our Church, or become one with her."[1]

It is quite clear in this letter that the mere alteration of structure - even if it were to be extended over the entire Prussian Church - would not secure Catholic unity in the Church that thus altered its form: "Important as Episcopacy is in the maintenance of what is good, there are, in the present state of the German Protestants, things of far more importance than Episcopacy; Episcopacy might, under God, have saved them from this downfall, but it may not be the first in order, in rearing them up."[2] And, "The gift of Episcopacy would be no real gift to them unless they long for it; it is not the piety of one Monarch [Frederick William IV] which can make the people fit to receive it...

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1. Quoted in Liddon, Life, Vol. II, p.283.
2. Letter to Canterbury, p.124.

with soundness of faith Episcopacy would be a blessing, without it, it may be a curse."[1] And therefore the English duty is clear: "But, for ourselves, your Grace will permit me to say, that until - not their mere willingness to receive Episcopacy, but - their soundness is ascertained, it would be very injurious to ourselves, to become the source of a heterodox succession."[2] Pusey raised similar objections to attempted rapprochement with the Scandanavian churches in the second half of the century. "Union with the Scandanavian bodies there cannot be," wrote Pusey in 1867, "because they would not give up their Lutheran formulae, nor should we exchange our Articles for them. And so we would remain two different faiths... The English Church and the Scandanavian bodies would be two unlike bodies tied together (which God forbid), not united; agreeing to differ, one only in indifference."[3] He particularly objected to their doctrines of justification and the eucharist. It would be futile, in the case of the Danish Church with its admittedly irregular orders, to give them a valid episcopate even if they agreed to it:

> "To receive Episcopal consecration or ordination would only be a concession to our supposed prejudices, a removal of a 'hindrance to Christian union and fellowship between them and us, of something which prevents the surer

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1. Ibid., p.125.
2. Ibid., p.127.
3. Introduction, Lee, Essays, pp.lvi-lvii.

> and more perfect Church development, which, from a mutual giving and receiving would ensue.' Such ordination or consecration of those who believed that they received nothing, and that they had nothing to receive, would be a mockery and unreality."[1]

To this he added rather cynically: "Certainly no account which we have received of Danish theology would make one anxious to receive aught from it."[2] He would not admit that the Swedish Church had a better claim - it was a defunct Lutheran Church like the others.[3] He questions their orders on the grounds that their form of consecration is faulty and without adequate authority, and their eucharist because there is no real consecration. He also objected that they had no real form of absolution. The whole situation was compared with that of the Jerusalem Bishopric.[4] He concludes:

> "I am sure that they who most intelligently value God's gifts to us, and thankfully adore Him for giving them, and are also best acquainted with the real character of Lutheranism, would with me pray - 'May God, Who brought to naught the building of the tower of Babel, bring utterly to naught all attempts to connect us with the Scandanavian bodies, so long as they retain the faith-destroying Confession of Augsburg."[5]

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1. Ibid., pp.lxvii-lxviii.
2. Ibid., p.lxviii.
3. Ibid., p.lxxi.
4. Ibid., pp.lxxii-lxxviii.
5. Ibid., p.lxxix. It is no wonder that Pusey was embarrassed in later life by his pre-Tractarian Theology of Germany in which he had said: "I cannot, indeed, but hope that hereafter the Confession of Augsburg, venerated as the first Protestant Confession, as a monument of unshaken faith in that period of difficulty and danger, no less than for the sake of the

More interesting and revealing still are Pusey's comments about the American Protestant Episcopal Church. Some people were evidently arguing that because the Bishop of Illinois had communicated with the Archbishop of Upsala the Anglican Church as a whole was committed to closer relations with the Swedish Church. In the first place, Pusey answered, an individual bishop does not commit the Church to anything - this had been a longstanding principle with him. But he goes farther than this - to questioning the existing state of intercommunion between the Church of England and the Church in the United States. That Church was in danger of lapsing into heresy herself (it is of interest to note that the possession of bishops in both the Swedish and American cases had not protected them from degeneration): it had omitted the Athanasian Creed from its Prayer Book and altered the eleventh article to this purpose; it allowed the Nicene Creed to be omitted; it allowed the bishop, in the ordination of priests, to omit the words "Receive the Holy Ghost; whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven, and whose sins thou dost retain are retained"; it eliminated the authoritative form of absolution and all mention of con-

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great men who composed it, and dear to us also, as the source of much in our own articles, may hereafter be restored to its original eminance as the sole symbolical book of the German Church." Theology of Germany, p.19.

fession from the office for the Visitation of the Sick, and the corresponding words in the communion service. In light of these "errors" he seriously questions the existing relationship: "... there is a very grave difference between the Anglican Church and that of the United States, and that it is very desirable that before any closer union is formed with the Church in the United States, what it has omitted from the Prayerbook should be restored."[1] There could, of course, be no question about the validity of their orders. This last case makes the point so well that no more need be said on this subject other than to observe that Pusey was, perhaps, more rigid in his precise doctrinal demands than most other sub-Tractarian theologians. Though the Liberal Catholics would not press so far into details, they agreed in insisting that in relation to the sacrament and episcopacy at least a certain interpretation was necessary.

What then was the dogmatic form necessary to the visible unity of the Church? It is clear that it was not a detailed confessionalism in the Orthodox sense, at least there was no general agreement as to such details. This is possibly where the Movement was most characteristically Anglo-Catholic. They insisted, for the most part, upon a

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1. Ibid., p.lxxxiii.

certain interpretation of sacrament and episcopacy, which also involved a certain attitude towards the Church and its authority, but beyond this varied considerably. In the Tractarian period a strong reaction to Liberalism in any form brought with it an inflexible doctrinal interpretation of the visible Church, whereas a later reconciliation with certain aspects of Liberalism brought with it the belief that a wider toleration in doctrinal detail was perfectly consistent with the existence of a united fellowship. In neither period was one or the other emphasis made to the exclusion of the other, and in both it is clear that the simple structural form, without the Catholic principles which they held to be necessary to the proper interpretation of that form, was an insufficient expression of the divinely willed visible unity.

Chapter IV: Structural Unity

In the preceding chapter, attention was drawn to the fact that Anglo-Catholics placed more emphasis upon the continuous existence of the Church than upon a dogmatic definition of its faith. It is the purpose of this chapter to consider the structural form of that existence. Because structure, or order, has such an obvious relationship to the continuing life of a body, this element in the Anglo-Catholic ecumenical theology often seems to be that upon which all else depends. A secondary purpose of this chapter, and the primary purpose of the last chapter, will be to place this emphasis upon structure in its proper perspective. While structure may have been an indispensable element in the Movement's ecumenical theology, it was by no means the primary factor in its understanding of the Church's unity.

The Tractarian interest in reestablishing the Church as an independent spiritual entity was out of harmony with most current thought. On the one hand, there was a strong Erastianism among High and Broad Churchmen, and, on the other, there was the individualism of the Evangelical Movement. In neither case did the Church as Church receive much attention. It is ironical that Tractarianism's leaders were given a different conception of the Church by a member of the Oriel common room. It was in that college, Dean Church tells us, that Newman and Froude learned from

Whately that the Church was a structure complete in itself, with an authority quite independent of the state:

> "Whately, with his clear sense, had laid down that it was a divine religious society, distinct in its origin and existence, distinct in its attributes from any other... the Church of England was the one historic uninterrupted Church, than which there could be no other, locally in England... a great and sacred corporate body... [with] its right to exist, and if necessary, govern itself, separate from the state. He had recognized excommunication as its natural and indefeasible instrument of government. But what the internal life of the Church was, what should be its teaching and organic system, and what was the standard and proof of these, Whately had left unsaid."[1]

While the Tractarian application of these ideas is important, their most significant legacy to Anglo-Catholic ecclesiology was this conception of a self-sufficient, divinely originated, organism stretching out in time and space. The revival of the idea of the Church was also the Oxford Movement's most significant contribution to Anglicanism generally - quite apart from any dogmatic or historical interpretation of it. By the early twentieth century, ecumenists of all schools of thought would have rejected the sort of proposals made by Thomas Arnold in 1832.[2]

P. E. Shaw described this "sense of the Church" as a

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1. Oxford Movement, pp.45-46.
2. Cf., above, Ch. I, p.2f.

reaction against the intense individualism of contemporary religious thought. The Tractarians attempted to recapture the idea of the Church as a corporate body:

> "Its theological contribution was concerned with the social aspect of the Faith. Not in the Eucharist alone, but everywhere, the tendency was to discern the Body of Christ. The stress was on the corporate existence of Christians in accord with the revealed will of their Head. Hence this was primarily a Movement for the Church."[1]

Liddon's estimate of the Movement's significance followed similar lines:

> "They were chiefly concerned with the constitution, ordinances, and services of the Church. Their first object was to restore and strengthen faith in those portions of the Divine Will which related to the nature and organization of the body of Christ, and which had been denied or forgotten by the popular religionism of the day."[2]

The earliest Tracts by Newman illustrate this interest. He was there preoccupied with the idea of an independent Church, catholic and apostolic, of which the only true and satisfactory definition, he said in the second Tract, is "that there is on earth an existing Society, Apostolic as founded by the Apostles, Catholic because it spreads its branches in every place; i.e., the Church Visible with its Bishops,

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1. Early Tractarians, p.9. This analysis must be placed in the context of our discussion in Ch. II. The Tractarians never managed to escape from the soteriological individualism of their day.
2. Life, Vol. I, p.277.

Priests and Deacons."[1] But this outline was not enough for him. He set about giving it body in the theological system which he called the Via Media. Speaking of this system in the Apologia, he makes it evident that his dominant interest was in the wholeness, the total being, of the Church:

> "I considered that to make the Via Media concrete and substantive, it must be much more than it was in outline; that the Anglican Church must have a ceremonial, a ritual, and a fulness of doctrine and devotion, which it had not at present, if it were to compete with the Roman Church with any prospect of success."[2]

The Via Media, Brilioth said, was not primarily characterized by "a certain Church theory," but by a feeling of unrest, a dissatisfaction with partiality, with anything less than the full will of God.[3]

Froude's Remains also reflect this emphasis on the being of the Church. It is highly significant, he argued, that the figure under which the "Christian system is most frequently designated in the New Testament is that of a Kingdom: the Kingdom of Heaven, or the Kingdom of God, or the Kingdom of Christ."[4] Since one cannot call a system of doctrine a "Kingdom," he continued, the reference must be to a polity or government. He assumed that such a

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1. "The Catholic Church," Tracts, Vol. I, pp.2-3.
2. Apologia, p.281.
3. Anglican Revival, p.257.
4. Remains, Part II, Vol. I, p.128.

polity was clearly evident in the apostolic records of the New Testament: "It has been shown, that the Christian world under the government of the Apostles, and probably of their immediate successors, was an organized society or polity, to which every individual convert was obliged to conform."[1] He thus moved from the idea of Kingdom to the more concrete expression of the idea in the Church's polity. The organization embodied and witnessed to the fact, it was not responsible for it.[2] While the Tractarians did have a static and therefore inflexible conception of that organization, the important fact is that it was secondary - not the originator but the embodiment of the Church's continuing life. The idea of an organic reality only accidently related to the Church's organization was fundamental to the growing sacramentalism of the Movement.

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1. Ibid., p.127.
2. It is interesting to note that at this early stage in the Movement there was no necessary connection between this idea and an ecumenical theology. Froude had a schismatic temper which undoubtedly shocked many of the Apostolicals when it was revealed in the Remains. He felt that the condition of the Church almost justified a secession along the non-Juring pattern. Examples: "The more I think about it, the more sure I am that unless something is done about it, there must be a separation in the Church before long, and that I shall be one of the separatists." Remains, Part I, Vol. I, p.370. "Would that the Non-jurors had kept up a succession! and then we might have been at peace, proselytes instead of agitators." Ibid., p.395. "Would that the waters would throw up some Archeloides where some new Bishop might erect a see beyond the blighted influence of our upas tree." Ibid., p.405.

This conception of the Church was expressed in various ways by Anglo-Catholic theologians. The most ecumenically significant of these was the emergence of the Liberal Catholic emphasis upon the corporate character of the whole of Christian life. The Church was described in organic terms - as organism, body, extension of the Incarnation, etc. But the idea was not introduced by the Liberal Catholics. In the 1840's we find H. E. Manning describing the Church in this same way:

> "The true Church has both a body and a soul: the body is that one, uniform, organised, universal polity, of which the succession of the Apostles is the essential first condition: the soul is that inward unity of energetic faith, hope and charity, which knits all saints, from the highest to the lowest, in one spiritual family. These are the fruits, or result, of the visible unity as the likeness of Christ is the effect of the holy sacrament in the faithful receiver. The visible unity is a sacramental means to the formation of this fellowship of sanctity."[1]

The essence of that unity is prior to either of these fruits - to either the organization or the Christian spirit. Manning is not entirely free of the Tractarian idea that the Church is the means towards a unity which is primarily in heaven, but he is moving away from it.

The idea of the Church as an organism was usually related to the episcopacy - and often to a rather detailed structure, - but the episcopacy was never, in itself,

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1. Quoted in Brilioth, Anglican Revival (p.264), from Sermons, Vol. i, 7th ed. (London: 1848).

regarded as the essence of the Church's life. But some form of structure was necessary. "The spiritual unity derived from the Lord is imparted through Sacraments," said W. Lock in his Lux Mundi essay, "but this at once links the inward life and spiritual unity with some form of external organization."[1] The idea of structural existence was also basic to Gore's doctrine of the Church as the Spirit-bearing body - and thus the Body of Christ.[2] In adopting the same position, Lacey went to considerable pains to distinguish between organization and organism - the former being an expression of the latter:

> "Organization is a matter of externals, and I have said as little as possible about it; but the organic constitution of the Church of Christ is no accident imposed upon the religion of the Gospel. It is an integral part of the Gospel, affecting that appeal to the human conscience which is the preaching of the Gospel. For the life which we live by the faith of the Son of God is not lived in isolation, but in the Body of Christ, as members one of another."[3]

Because they emphasized this organic unity, Anglo-Catholics sometimes had more to say about schism than about heresy. Heresy would not necessarily disrupt the existence of the Church - schism would. They went to great pains to show that the English Reformation, and the resultant breach with Rome, was not a schism. There were,

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1. Lux Mundi, p.378.
2. Cf., above, Ch. II, p.184ff.
3. Anglo-Catholic Faith, p.100.

however, many Tractarians, Froude being the most outspoken, who disowned the English Reformation because they did not think that it could entirely extricate itself from the charge of being schismatic in temper, if not in fact. Others, as we have seen, would even justify the position of Continental Protestantism on the grounds that its separation from the Roman communion had not been voluntary. No such excuses could be made for Dissenters in Britain, however. Those bodies had not been forced to leave the communion of the Church by the imposition of illegitimate conditions, and, more important, they epitomized the schismatic temper. Though many Anglo-Catholics were willing to lay much of the blame for this separation upon the Anglican Church itself, that did not alter this fact. This greater concern for schism than for doctrinal disagreement is evident in the way these men were generally willing to tolerate estrangement between geographically distinct bodies, usually for doctrinal reasons, but not between communions existing in the same area. Palmer explained the difference between these two classes of estrangement in terms of Cyrian's conception of Church structure, i.e., that every diocese under its bishop is an essentially autonomous unit with certain charitable relationships with other dioceses. "His meaning is," said Palmer, "that the unity of the church cannot be so divided by laceration, that <u>in one place</u> there shall be several true churches, as

he observes in the same treatise; but he does not touch on the question of estrangement between the churches of different parts of the world."[1] For Palmer it is almost enough to profess an anti-schismatic principle:

> "... and therefore, that any society which does not possess means for upholding unity of communion, and which is obliged by its fundamental principles to tolerate and even encourage separation and division without limit, cannot be a church of God. This, then, is a note which enables us easily to discriminate sects from the church."[2]

Even though the various sections of the Church are not in external communion, the desire to mend this breach must be present. This, then, was Palmer's definition of the Church:

> "If, in fine, it can be shown that any society of professing Christians was originally founded by the apostles, or the churches they instituted; that this society has been always visible; that it never voluntarily separated itself from the great body of the church; that it was never excommunicated from the rest of the church by any regular or valid judgment; and that it maintains the necessity of unity of communion, even though it may not be actually in communion with the larger part of the church. In this case it can never have ceased to be what it originally was, namely, a church of Christ; for a church can only cease to be united to Christ by its own voluntary separation, or by the lawful judgment of others."[3]

In the sub-Tractarian period, G. H. Curteis develops this emphasis upon schism in an interesting way. He points out that there is, in the Church, an inevitable and

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1. Treatise, Vol. I, p.59.
2. Ibid., p.69.
3. Ibid., p.70.

essentially healthy "opposition," which is "in ecclesiastical as well as every other kind of polity, the essential condition of vitality and movement."[1] This condition is only dangerous when it develops into a "chronic disease" which, in relation to doctrine is called heresy, or in relation to discipline, schism. In other words, it is only when these things begin to disrupt the fellowship, the organic harmony and existence of the Church, that they become serious.

Gore assumed a similar attitude when discussing the necessity of episcopal ordination. The Church of England, he said, had always insisted upon such ordination without judging the validity of other ordinations, or demanding any one interpretation of it.[2] One of its primary values was as a principle of unity: "Any violation of this Catholic principle would involve disruption. Its maintenance afforded the only hope that Christians could ever be reunited."[3] When he discusses schism, it is quite clear that Gore regarded this disruptive spirit as the primary evil in the Christian community. And this spirit can exist with or without episcopal polity:

> "... schism does not merely mean breaking away from the episcopal form of government. The schisms of the early Church were episcopal in

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1. Dissent, p.8.
2. "Validity" here simply means "efficacy," not "security."
3. Prestige, Gore, p.362.

> form, but none the less they were understood to put their responsible members outside the Church's saving unity."[1]

Schism is thus defined as follows: "Schism, considered apart from heresy, as a sin excluding from the benefits of church life, means wilful self-withdrawl from the legitimate succession of the catholic Church on the part of an individual or party, or, in a secondary sense, the wilful causing of a breach inside the Church."[2] The fact of schism can have its source in two tempers of mind, one less excusable than the other. First,

> "It may be the result of the pride which will not brook ecclesiastical subordination, which makes men stand upon their dignity, and resent some supposed slight or injury, because they value their own self-esteem above the Church's fellowship... It is easily understood that schism so bred, should generally involve heresy, for the self-will which isolates itself to avoid unpleasant subordination is not likely to miss the temper of self-opinionatedness in matters of faith, and we understand St. Jerome's words - 'no schism fails to devise a heresy for itself to justify its withdrawl.'"[3]

The second type of schism, which "springs from a nobler root," may "spring from impatient, undisciplined zeal against evil in the Church."[4] Because this type of separation usually involves vital elements of truth, it cannot be healed save in so far as the evils which caused

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1. Roman Catholic Claims, p.125.
2. Ibid., p.126.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

the schism have been remedied. In this case the note of visible unity is not more important than right doctrine. In certain other sub-Tractarian writers, the anti-schismatic position is not even modified to this extent. These men, of course, would not generally regard the Anglican Church as schismatic because they defined the term locally. W. J. E. Bennett, for instance, would accept no excuse for schism. He would not even admit the traditional Anglican theory of necessity: under no circumstances, he says, could the law of God be justifiably violated.[1] Though this comment was made in what was primarily an attack upon the practice of setting up Anglican congregations on the Continent - which practice he regarded as schismatic, - it would certainly apply to schism in general. He dismissed the arguments which justified separation on the basis of language differences (an argument used by Pusey on the grounds of primitive precedent), unacceptable doctrine (churches at home are not boycotted for this reason, he said), the universal jurisdiction of a particular bishop (against Roman Catholics), or the example of schismatic Roman practice in Britain (against the Anglicans).

While, as we have observed, the episcopacy was not the essence of the Church's unity, it was universally

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1. Foreign Churches, pp.47-48.

regarded as the necessary condition of that unity. "The view of the Church, in which it is presented to us as an appointed means for the conveyance of mysterious blessings, distinct from the descent and orderly propagation of true doctrine," said Froude, "is arrived at through the belief that Episcopal Ordination conveys real though invisible power. This is the Keystone by which the whole system is held together."[1] It was the principal means of preserving the Church's life and continuity:

> "As they [Laud and Charles I] conceived Christ's coming into the world, and death upon the Cross, to be mysterious parts of the Divine Economy for the salvation of sinners, so they regarded the institution of the Visible Church as not a less mysterious part of the same Economy towards the same end: and Episcopacy they considered as a Divine Mystery for perpetuating this Church."[2]

With rare, though often significant, exception their conception of episcopal order was Cyprianic. A. J. Mason outlined the position as follows:

> "The Presbyters themselves in each diocese must be united by canonical, i.e., constitutional obedience to the supreme authority of the

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1. Remains, Part II, Vol. I, p.44. A. J. Mason thus described the importance of the episcopate: "I do not profess to be impartial. I am convinced that to tamper with episcopacy would be to throw away all that is most distinctive in the character and prospects of the church of England." Church of England and Episcopacy, p.viii. After a discussion of the Anglican attitude towards non-episcopalians, he continues: "The impression left is complex; but I think that no one who follows the evidence can doubt that the church of England stands for episcopacy with a resolution peculiarly its own." Ibid., p.ix.
2. Op. cit., p.41.

> diocese; and the supreme authority of each diocese must enjoy the mutual recognition of the rest. There we reach the old Cyprianic formula of the Church. Unity as an outward thing consists in the mutual recognition and fellowship of the bishops. There is no necessary step beyond that."[1]

Liddon quotes Pusey to the same effect:

> "'St. Cyprian's writings,' says Pusey, 'present the theory of the Episcopate, which bears out our position on one side and the other' - against Rome and against Protestantism. 'St. Cyprian's idea of the Episcopate is manifoldness in unity; many shepherds feeding one flock, yet therefore many that they might act in unity against any who would waste it.'"[2]

The Tractarian emphasis upon episcopacy had practical origins. Believing that disestablishment was imminent, the churchmen responsible for the idea of an organized resistence to contemporary trends in the Church hit upon the idea of reestablishing practical administrative authority on the basis of the priest's oath of canonical obedience to his ordinary. And the bishop's authority would rest upon the doctrine of apostolic succession. Froude was one of the first to hit upon this idea. As Brilioth points out, he saw the necessity of an "unshakable foundation for a theory of the Church which would defy the assaults of the age," and so, "it was strategic rather than religious reasons which gave the idea of Apostolic Succession its dominant place

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1. Principles of Unity, p.104.
2. Liddon, Life, Vol. I, p.438.

in the static Church conception of Neo-Anglicanism."[1]

Froude himself refers to the theory, in a letter to a friend, in much this same tone:

> "His notion is, that the most important subject to which you can direct your reading at present, is the meaning of canonical obedience, which we have all sworn to our Bishops; for that this is likely to be the only support for Church government, when the State refuses to support it."[2]

And, again, in reference to a sermon which he is writing, Froude says:

> "My subject is the duty of contemplating the contingency of a separation between Church and State, and of providing against it, i.e., by studying the principles of ecclesiastical subordination, so that when the law of the land ceases to enforce this, we may have a law within ourselves to supply its place."[3]

Palmer recalled a similar concern at the Hadleigh meeting:

> "It was suggested also that it was a matter of extreme importance that the meaning of the promise of canonical obedience to the Bishops should be closely examined, inasmuch as that obligation of canonical obedience was likely to be the sole means of preserving the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, through the apprehended action of the State in severing itself wholly from the Church."[4]

This was undoubtedly the reason why, soon after that meeting, John Keble suggested that one of the purposes of the Association of the Friends of the Church should be to "put forward the doctrine of apostolic succession as our

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1. Anglican Revival, p.183.
2. Remains, Part I, Vol. I, p.319.
3. Ibid., p.323.
4. "Oxford Movement," Contemporary Review, XLIII (May, 1883), p.648.

basis, together with the exclusive validity of the Eucharist administered by a ministry preserving that succession."[1] Palmer himself regretted that a doctrine put forward for those reasons had come to take such a narrow and central place in the Movement. Newman agreed that the emphasis on this doctrine had practical origins:

> "... he emphasises [in Lectures on the Difficulties of Anglicans] the fact that at the beginning of the Movement the leading idea was the independence of the Church. They took refuge in successio apostolica and all that goes with it, 'not only because these things were true and right but in order to shake off the State.'"[2]

By implication, this same understanding of the use to which the doctrine could be put was revealed in Keble's edition of Hooker (published in 1836):

> "It might have been expected that the defenders of the English hierarchy against the first Puritans should take the highest ground, and challenge for the Bishops the same unreserved submission, on the same pleas of exclusive apostolic prerogative, which their adversaries feared not to insist on for their elders and deacons.
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> "It is notorious, however, that such was not in general the line preferred by Jewel, Whitgift, Bishop Cooper, and others, to whom the management of that controversy was intrusted, during the part of Elizabeth's reigh. They do not expressly disavow, but they carefully shun, that unreserved appeal to Christian antiquity, in which one would have thought they must have discerned the very strength of their cause to lie. It is enough, with them, to shew that the

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1. Ibid., p.650.
2. Brilioth, Anglican Revival, p.183. Reference to Lectures on the Difficulties of Anglicans, Vol. I, p.102.

> government by archbishops and bishops is ancient and allowable; they never venture to urge its exclusive claim, or to connect the succession with the validity of the holy Sacraments; and yet it is obvious that such a course of argument alone could fully meet all the exigencies of the case."[1]

Though Brilioth has suggested that the prominence of the doctrine of apostolic succession in later Anglo-Catholicism was due to an unwarranted perpetuation of the early practical emphasis,[2] the fact remains that this doctrine provided a principle of sacramental as well as administrative continuity. And the idea of sacramental continuity was, as we shall see, at the very heart of their ecumenical theology.

By the twentieth century the relationship between the organic existence of the Church and episcopal order had become firmly fixed in Anglo-Catholic thought. A good Liberal Catholic discussion of this relationship can be found in Bicknell's Theological Introduction to the Thirty-Nine Articles. He suggests that since there is a difference between doctrine and the facts which doctrine interpret, the doctrine of apostolic succession can be treated on two levels, the interpretive and the historical: "As always, life came first and theology second: the Church acted first and thought afterwards."[3] The life is not dependent,

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1. Quoted in G. K. A. Bell, Christian Unity: The Anglican Position (London: 1948), pp.20-21.
2. Cf., above, Ch. III, p.336f.
3. Theological Introduction, p.324.

therefore, upon any doctrinal interpretation of it. Bicknell believed that since the eschatological emphasis overshadowed all else in the apostolic Church, the system which it developed was determined by practical considerations. In this sense the precise form of that system was accidental, but the fact of some system connecting the present with the apostolic Church is not therefore called into question, either as to its historic existence or its necessity. The significance of this system rests in its character as "a visible and concrete link with the Church of the past and with the historic life of Christ on earth;"[1] its witness to the ministry of the Church Catholic; and its guarantee of valid ministration: "Whatever gifts God may bestow outside it, we are assured that His grace is to be found within it."[2] While, in principle, any form of ministerial continuity would have been sufficient, the fact is that the episcopacy was the system that emerged - and since this is a principle of historic continuity, we must accept what has been, not what might have been. Only this historic ministry can be the center of reunion: "The one possible centre of reunion is the historic ministry, which embodies an authority wider than that of any local or partial Church."[3] For this reason Nonconformist

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1. Ibid., p.330.
2. Ibid., p.331.
3. Ibid., pp.336-337.

ministries cannot be regarded as acceptable:

> "How, then, does the Church of England regard Nonconformist ministrations? Stress should be laid on the positive rather than on the negative side. We are bound to hold fast to our ministry to secure the validity of our own ministrations. But the true antithesis to 'valid' in such cases is not 'invalid' but rather 'precarious.' We are convinced that Nonconformist rites are irregular; they have not on them the stamp of approval of the whole Church. But we have no wish to dogmatize on their position in the sight of God or to deny that He employs them as a means of grace. God is not limited to His ordinances, but we are. We believe that the maintenance of the succession is God's will for us and a real means towards the reunion of Christendom. Those who repudiate it we leave to God's judgment. There is abundant evidence that here, as elsewhere, God uses what is not wholly in accordance with His will. We do not deny or wish others to deny any spiritual experience that they have gained. But we believe that to loosen our hold on the historical ministry in the hope of attaining a rapid and partial unity would be to postpone any hope of a complete and lasting unity. It is recognized that in a reunited Church there must be 'a ministry acknowledged by every part of the Church.' This practical requirement can hardly be met by any ministry which stands apart from the apostolic succession."[1]

While the Anglo-Catholic ecumenists did not believe that a valid episcopal succession by itself could constitute a true Church, there was nevertheless a tendency in some quarters to place more emphasis upon this external note than upon any other. This tendency came to the surface in relation to a number of important ecumenical situations. It could be seen in those members of the

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1. Ibid., p.337.

Oxford party who supported the Jerusalem Bishopric on the grounds that the German Church lacked only the historic episcopate to be a true Church. J. R. Hope admitted that this was the reason for his initial favorable reaction to the scheme:

> "... being under the impression derived from my friend's letter, and not shaken by anything I had yet heard, that the scheme was one for bringing the Prussians at Jerusalem by legitimate ecclesiastical means into the Church of England, I considered a relaxation of the outward forms of the Church perfectly allowable for such a purpose, and accordingly made ample provision for it."[1]

But when Hope realized that this concession was not being accepted in anything like a Catholic spirit by the Prussians, he reversed his position:

> "To submit to episcopacy simply as a form of Church Government, and without any acknowledgement of its divine character or reception of its ordinances and confessions of the Catholic principles involved in it, is no abjuration of schism and error."[2]

Pusey had altered his views for the same reason. A more significant example of this emphasis upon the episcopacy to the exclusion of other considerations is to be found in the Anglo-Catholic attitude towards the episcopally constituted Lutheran State Church of Sweden. Here was the case of a church with a valid succession [3] which at the same time adopted doctrinal standards that Anglo-Catholics

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1. Ornsby, J. R. Hope-Scott, Vol. I, p.288.
2. Ibid., p.327.
3. Very few tried, with Pusey, to question the validity of the Swedish succession.

had often denounced as heretical. It communed with other Lutheran churches which were not episcopal, and, furthermore, it did not profess a "high" doctrine of episcopacy.[1]

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1. In the report of the commission appointed by the Lambeth Conference of 1908 to hold conference with representatives of the Swedish Church with a view to determining future relations with that body, this fact is evident. The Swedes thus described their position on the second day of the conference: "(3) No particular organization of the Church and of its ministry is instituted jure divino, not even the order and discipline and state of things recorded in the New Testament, because the Holy Scriptures, the norma normans of the faith of the Church, are no law, but vindicate for the New Covenant the great principle of Christian freedom, unweariedly asserted by St. Paul against every form of legal religion, and applied with fresh strength and clearness by Luther, but instituted by our Saviour Himself, as for instance when, in taking farewell of His disciples, He did not regulate their future work by a priori rules and institutions, but directed them to the guidance of the Paraclete, the Holy Ghost. (4) ... our Church cannot recognize any essential difference, de jure divino, of aim and authority between the two or three orders into which the ministry of grace may have been divided, jure humano, for the benefit and convenience of the Church. (5) The value of every organization of the 'ministerium ecclesiasticum,' and of the Church in general, is only to be judged by its fitness and ability to become a pure vessel for the supernatural contents, and a perfect channel for the way of Divine Revelation unto mankind. (6) That doctrine in no wise makes our Church indifferent to the organization and the forms of ministry which the cravings and experiences of the Christian community have produced under the guidance of the Spirit in the course of history." The Church of England and the Church of Sweden (London: 1911), pp.18-19. Though the English Commission managed to recommend intercommunion of a tentative sort because the Church of Sweden had "a true conception of the episcopal office, though it does not on the whole consider the office to be so important as most English Churchmen do," and "the office of priest is also rightly conceived as a divinely instituted instrument for the ministry of the Word and Sacraments, and that it has been in intention handed on throughout the whole history of the Church of Sweden," (Ibid., pp.22-23) most Anglo-Catholics would not accept this doctrine as adequate.

In other words, the Swedish Church did not meet the dogmatic requirements which we discussed in the preceding chapter. It is this fact that makes the attitude taken towards this Church an admirable standard of the relative importance of the dogmatic and structural forms. Tractarians like Palmer and Arthur Perceval were quite willing to accept the Swedish communion as a true Church by virtue of its valid succession,[1] while Pusey would have nothing to do with it because of what he considered to be heretical doctrine.[2] Even the English Church Union was not consistent in its official pronouncements on the subject. In 1863 it seemed to welcome further relations with the Swedish Church, but in 1867 it adopted a resolution "respectfully depreciating such recognition" when it heard that the matter was likely to be taken up at the forthcoming Lambeth Conference.[3] The A.P.U.C. was likewise cautious, simply asking, in a petition addressed to the Conference of 1888, that no new departures be taken in relation to such communions. To that same Conference

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1. Cf. Perceval, Churchman's Manual, p.54, and Palmer, Treatise, Vol. I, pp.297-298.
2. Cf., above, Ch. III, p.348ff.
3. Roberts, English Church Union, p.94. It is possible that Pusey's joining the Union in the interval accounted for this change. Much support is given to this suggestion by the fact that the Union was responsible for sending copies of Pusey's Introduction to Lee's Essays (Roberts confused this volume with Lee's similar collection of Sermons) to every bishop likely to attend the Conference.

a group of Churchmen headed by Liddon addressed a similar memorial, pleading that it should not adopt "any new attitude towards foreign churches or bodies of Christians."[1] Nevertheless there was no significant opposition to the gradual movement towards recognition of the Swedish Church within the Lambeth Conferences themselves, or, for that matter, from the Church at large. There was nothing remotely resembling the outcry raised in connection with the Jerusalem Bishopric or the Kikuyu Missionary Conference. The fact that relations with the other Scandanavian episcopal churches did not follow a similar course is also significant since the only difference between those bodies and the Swedish Church was that they did not have a valid succession. There was no significant movement towards closer communion with the episcopally constituted Moravian Church for similar reasons. But too much can be made of the examples of a seemingly exclusive emphasis upon episcopal succession which we have been considering. These were exceptional cases, valuable in showing a tendency only. Most Anglo-Catholics would have said with Frank Weston: "An Episcopal ministry may easily mean a protestant ministry ordained by one who is a Bishop, and nothing else that is ideally characteristic of the Catholic or Episcopal

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1. Official Minutes of the Conference (MSS in Lambeth Palace Library), under the date, July 5, 1888.

Church;"[1] or with T. A. Lacey:

> "Heretics are not the less heretical, schismatics are not the less schismatical, if they happen to have among them some persons in holy orders, priests and bishops, nor even if all the functions of the hierarchy are ostensibly carried on. The fact is irrelevant to the question whether they are severed from the Church. If severed, they are not the less severed because they have a hierarchy with them, nor the more severed because they have it not."[2]

While there was some difference of emphasis respecting the relative importance of episcopal succession, all Anglo-Catholic ecumenists insisted that some form of structural unity was necessary to the Church's being. This form provided both apostolic authority and a practical means of preserving the Church's faith, life, and unity. It was their belief that only episcopal order could fulfil these requirements. The episcopate was so important in Palmer's thought, for instance, that he defined two of the Church's notes with reference to it. Apostolicity, he said, depends upon the succession of authority through ordination, and the commission to ordain:

> "The great external sign of such a continuance of ordination in any church, is derived from the legitimate succession of its chief pastors from the apostles; for it is morally certain, that wherever there has been this legitimate succession, the whole body of the clergy have been lawfully commissioned. This succession from the apostles is a certain note of a church

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1. Case Against Kikuyu, p.53.
2. The Universal Church, p.42.

> of Christ, unless it be clearly convicted of schism or heresy."[1]

His discussion of the note of holiness is extremely interesting. That note, he says, is fulfilled if a church can establish its claim to have been founded by holy men, i.e., the Apostles. He begins by pointing out that Christ is the source of all holiness in the Church, and then shows how this holiness was mediated to the historic Church through the Apostles:

> "The apostles of our Lord were commissioned by him, with the authority which he had received from the Father, to found the Christian church; and all churches must therefore derive their origin from the apostles, either by proving that they were originally founded by the apostolic preaching, and have perpetually existed as societies from that moment to the present; or else they must be prepared to show that, at their origin, they were derived peaceably and with Christian charity from the apostolic churches, or that they were subsequently received into communion by such churches. These are the only conceivable ways in which any church can pretend to prove that it was founded by the apostles immediately or mediately. If any society was not founded actually by the apostles, nor yet founded by the successors of the apostles and the apostolical churches, but in the moment of its birth separated itself from the communion and religion of all such churches; if it was never received afterwards, and engrafted into the communion of churches, apostolical in their origin and derivation; it is impossible that such a society can in any way show that it was holy in its origin, as being founded by the apostles of Jesus Christ."[2]

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1. Treatise, Vol. I, p.142.
2. Ibid., pp.107-108.

In either case, the real "note" is the legally established episcopacy.

Though Pusey had once taken issue with H. J. Rose's contention that the German Church's difficulties were in no small measure due to the absence of the episcopate, in 1869 he wrote to Liddon virtually grounding the whole Anglican apologetic upon this one fact: "We are satisfied with our Orders; we are exercising our priestly offices; we are satisfied that we are in the Catholic Church: we have nothing to gain."[1] Liddon himself tended to define the Church in the same way when raising an objection to the name "Episcopal Church in Scotland":

> "To talk of an Episcopal Church is like talking of a two-legged man. Apart from the Episcopate the Church of Christ does not properly exist; and when in Scotland she consents to call herself Episcopal, she implies that the self-organized Presbyterian communities, whether established or non-established, are really parts of the Catholic Christian Church, which only differ from herself, as the phrase goes, in the question of Church government. If this were the case the position of the 'Episcopalians,' so to call them, in Scotland would be a sinful because a schismatic one: they would be making an uncalled-for division in the Fold of Christ. The only justification for the continued existence of what I must call the Scottish Church since 1688, as a body separated from the established community, is that, by the destruction of the Episcopate in that community, the conditions of true union, through the Sacraments, with our Lord Jesus Christ, were forfeited, and that it thus became a duty to supply the means of grace independently."[2]

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1. Liddon, Life, Vol. IV, p.175.
2. Johnston, H. P. Liddon, p.424.

For some Tractarians the episcopate had a significance unrelated, or at least indirectly related to the function of transmitting apostolic authority in a legal sense. The term "Father-in-God" was used to refer not only to canonical obligations but to personal religious authority. In any analysis of the reasons for Newman's departure from the English Church this factor must be given a prominent place. To him each diocese was an autonomous ecclesiastical body under the government of a single bishop who was its ultimate living authority. Unlike most Tractarians and their Anglo-Catholic heirs, Newman did not care very much for the idea of conciliar authority because it seemed to detract from the religious authority of the diocesan bishop:

> "I consider him [his bishop] set over me by the Divine Head... I did not care much for the Bench of Bishops, except as they might be the voice of my Church [as distinct from the voice of God]; nor should I have cared much for a Provincial Council; nor for a Diocesan Synod presided over by my Bishop; all these matters seemed to me to be jure ecclesiastica, but what to me was jure divino was the voice of my Bishop in his own person. My own Bishop was my Pope."[1]

One might almost say that while most Anglo-Catholics had a high doctrine of episcopacy, Newman had a high doctrine of the bishop. The bishop was virtually the mediator of

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1. Apologia, p.123. The distinction that Newman draws between ecclesiastical and divine authority is significant. Ecclesiastical authority, by itself, was not enough for him.

salvation. In Newman's tenth Tract, the bishop is said to figure Christ in the scheme of salvation:

> "He is Christ's instrument; and he visibly chooses those whom Christ vouchsafes to choose invisibly, to serve in the Word and Sacraments of the Church. And thus, in one sense, it is from the Bishop that the news of redemption and the means of grace have come to all men; this again is witnessing Christ. I, who speak to you concerning Christ, was ordained to do so by the Bishop; he speaks in me, - as Christ wrought in him, and as God sent Christ. Thus the whole plan of salvation hangs together, - Christ the True Mediator above; His servant, the Bishop, His earthly likeness; mankind the subjects of His teaching; God the author of Salvation."[1]

Contrasting Newman's view with that of Pusey, Liddon explains: "In Newman's mind a single and present authority took the place which Pusey assigned to a more remote and complex, but at the same time more really authoritative guide."[2] This was a major factor in Newman's attraction to the Roman Church. Since the Bishop of Oxford was sympathetic with the Movement, Newman could, with his theory, ignore the attacks upon it by other bishops. In 1841 he could thus assure J. R. Hope:

> "As to the Bishops' charges, this too must be remembered, that they have no direct authority except in their own dioceses. A Bishop's word is to be obeyed, not as to doctrine, but as a part of discipline - only in Synod do they prescribe doctrine. There is nothing to hinder any one in the Oxford diocese maintaining just the negative of what these particular Bishops

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1. "Heads of a Week-Day Lecture," Tracts, Vol. I, pp.4-5.
2. Liddon, Life, Vol. II, p.238.

> have said. Till truth is silenced among us, I do not see that Catholic minds need be in difficulty."[1]

When the Bishop of Oxford did feel that it was his duty, in the interests of peace, to ask Newman to stop publishing the Tracts, Newman was greatly distressed. The difference between Newman and Pusey on this question is evident in a conversation they had before Newman left the English Church. Pusey thus recorded the incident some years later:

> "What might not the movement have been if the Bishops would have understood us! I remember Newman saying to me at Littlemore, 'Oh, Pusey! we have leant on the Bishops, and they have broken down under us!' It was too late then to say anything: he was already leaving us. But I thought to myself, 'At least I have never leant on the Bishops: I leant on the Church of England.'"[2]

Whatever the secondary value of the episcopate as an organ of discipline and spiritual counsel, its primary place in Anglo-Catholic thought was determined by the static view of religion. After considering the danger in which the Church of 1833 found itself, Newman said, in the first

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1. Ornsby, J. R. Hope-Scott, Vol. I, p.301. In a letter addressed to the Bishop of Oxford on this subject, the Archbishop of Canterbury expressed concern lest this view of the matter encourage anarchy: "... I question whether the principle as applied by them would not tend, if carried out in effect, to generate schism, to make each diocese a separate Church with customs and practices of its own, instead of a member of our Anglican Catholic Church, concurring in usages, no less than in doctrine, and further to introduce a system liable to change according to the opinions of individual Bishops in succession." Quoted in Liddon, Life, Vol. II, p.134.
2. Quoted in Ibid., p.237.

Tract: "I fear we have neglected the real ground on which our authority is built - OUR APOSTOLIC DESCENT."[1] It was this descent that determined the Church's catholicity, apostolicity, holiness, unity, and sacramental validity. In other words, the whole existence of a church, while not identical with it, depended on it. Whatever else was required, this at least was necessary. In the fifty-second Tract, John Keble developed this idea with reference to the Church's origin in Christ, the true center of its existence:

> "The lines of the true Catholic Church are drawn out, as the Psalmist says, to the ends of the world, over all lands; but trace them back, and they all meet in the same centre, Jesus Christ. Therefore it is all one Church, and not a thousand independent churches..."[2]

The connection with Christ Incarnate was established through the apostolic ministry: "For the believers of those days [of the Primitive Church] were too well instructed not to know that our Saviour's promises were made to the Church through the Apostles; so that if they broke off their connection with the Apostles, they broke of their connection with Christ."[3] It was through this relationship with Christ Incarnate that the Church received its authority and spiritual power. In the Tractarian theology

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1. "Thoughts on the Ministerial Commission," Tracts, Vol. I.
2. "Sermons for Saints' Days and Holidays (No. 1. St. Matthais)," Tracts, Vol. II, p.4.
3. Ibid., p.5.

there was no real conception of the Holy Spirit as an independent and continuing source of ecclesiastical authority. As a result they tended to equate the Spirit with the static principle of revelation. It preserved the universal Church from error. Because of this emphasis upon an historic, organic, structural connection between Christ Incarnate and the existing Church, even the Liberal Catholic references to the Church as the Spirit-bearing body often seem simply to mean "sacrament-bearing" body. Communion with Christ, Keble said, does not depend on "convictions, and emotions, and highly-wrought feelings," but on "the simple fact of adherence to that system which our Lord himself had established for our salvation."[1] Tract 74's introductory discussion of the doctrine of apostolic succession makes the same point:

> "The doctrine in dispute is this; that Christ founded a visible Church as an ordinance forever, and endowed it once for all with spiritual privileges, and set His Apostles over it, as the first in a line of ministers and rulers, like themselves except in their miraculous gifts, and to be continued from them by successive ordination; in consequence, that to adhere to this Church thus distinguished, is among the ordinary duties of a Christian, and is the means of his appropriating the Gospel blessings with an evidence of his doing so not attainable elsewhere."[2]

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1. Ibid., pp.5-6.
2. J. H. Newman, "Catena Patrum. No. I. Testamony of Writers in the Later English Church to the Doctrine of the Apostolical Succession," Tracts, Vol. III, pp.1-2. Underlining mine.

Even Gore, with his well developed doctrine of the Holy Spirit, believed that a definite historical connection between Christ Incarnate and the existing Church was necessary to the latter's ordinary existence:

> "It appears first of all that the record of history renders it practically indisputable that Jesus Christ founded a visible society or Church, to be the organ of His Spirit in the world, the depository of His truth, the covenanted sphere of His redemptive grace and discipline. Now such a society, as by its very nature it is to be universal and continuous, must have links of connexion; and in the uninterupted history of the Church, as it is spread out before us from the latter part of the second century, one such link has always existed in the apostolic succession of the ministry. It appeared further that these successions have been regarded by the church writers, with an unanimity and to an extent which hardly admit of being exaggerated, as an essential element of her corporate life."[1]

The life which this connection with Christ was instituted to preserve was sacramental life. As Brilioth put it: "As far as the Sacramental idea became the centre of gravity, guarantees for the validity of sacraments were bound to get an ever-increasing importance."[2] The Anglo-Catholic doctrine of apostolic succession is unintelligible out of this context. All arguments from Scripture and history were dependent upon the fundamental presupposition that the sacramental life of the Church was a material extension of the sacrament of Incarnation. Through divine

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1. Church and Ministry, p.298.
2. Anglican Revival, p.329.

plan or historical accident, it did not really matter which, the episcopate became the necessary vehicle of this continuing life. Though not fully developed in early Tractarian writings, this idea was definitely present from the beginning of the Movement. In the Tract by Keble to which we have already made reference, the succession is thus related to the eucharist:

> "What is more, the teaching of the Primitive Church brought this matter home to every man's own soul, not only on the general ground of submission to all our Lord's ordinances, but because the bread and wine in the Eucharist was not accounted the true Sacrament of Christ, without Christ's warrant given to the person administering; which warrant, the Fathers well knew, could only be had through His Apostles and their successors."[1]

Not only the covenanted security, but the very sacramental presence is dependent upon this authorization:

> "In the judgment of the Church it makes no less difference than this: whether the bread and cup which he partakes of shall be to him Christ's Body and Blood or not."[2]

Even as late as 1845, Newman believed that, whatever else might be defective in the English Church, its eucharist was real because its succession was valid: "I suppose, even though a Church be schismatical, yet if it have the Apostolic Succession, and the true form of Consecration, Christ is present on its altars, and that He,

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1. Tract 52, Tracts, Vol. II, pp.6-7.
2. Ibid., p.7.

Who is thus really present, should give of His presence to those who believe Him present..."[1] It was this faith that sustained many Anglo-Catholics in the sub-Tractarian period. Though their Church was certainly tainted with heresy, her alters remained unshaken. This was probably as important a factor as any other in the increasing emphasis upon the eucharist during this period. Christian communion came to have almost no meaning apart from it. Even Pusey reflects this development. In his first Eirenicon he distinguished between organic and organizational unity, and then proceeded to show that the sacrament and succession are of the esse of the former. Organic unity is to be found only in Christ, and the individual becomes a part of that unity by mystical union. And, "This unity, derived from Our Blessed Lord as Head of the Church, is imparted primarily through the Sacraments."[2] To do this Christ "useth the outward ministry of men, appointed in succession..."[3] The idea of a covenanted channel through which the sacraments receive their validity was also fundamental to the Liberal Catholic system. Essential unity, Gore said, "is consistent with anything which does not break the channels down by which the Church's essence is conveyed from the centre and source of life to all who

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1. Quoted in Liddon, Life, Vol. II, p.451.
2. Eirenicon I, p.54.
3. Ibid., p.55.

share it."[1] And this essence is "the ... one food, which is the Life of Christ."[2] The function of the Church is to preserve the continuity of this life:

> "Each local Church exists to keep open the connection of earth and heaven: to keep the streams of the water of life flowing. Of course each has a necessary connection with all the others in the witness of truth and in the fellowship of love - we will go on to think of that - but their primary point of union, the centre to which they all converge, is nothing lower than Christ."[3]

In Darwell Stone's thought this same emphasis upon sacramental life is evident. Unity, he said, depends both upon outward organization and inward life. The ideal unity would be that in which "the members of the Church throughout all the world have the most entire access to all the worship and all the fellowship of every part of the Church, as they are governed under the same visible rule by the same known laws, as they live together in peace and love, and unitedly draw out of the same Sacraments the same life."[4] Admitting that the Church will always fall short of the ideal, he goes on to consider the practical question: "What is the minimum below which the Church's unity cannot be?" This minimum, he says, is the sacramental life, and all that which is necessary to its continuity. It is in order to secure this life that

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1. Roman Catholic Claims, p.27.
2. Ibid., p.28.
3. Ibid., pp.33-34.
4. Notes of the Church, p.18.

episcopal order is necessary: "... the minimum of the unity of external organization is the common possession of the episcopate, [even] as the unity of the Church's inner life cannot be without the reception of the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist."[1] These are the "powers of the episcopate" which he mentions when discussing the note of apostolicity.[2]

It is important to note that though Anglo-Catholics spoke of the "powers" and the "grace" which are transmitted through the successive laying-on of hands, they were not referring to a transmission of substantial grace. Nor was their episcopalianism simply understood as an obligation to adhere to what they believed to be apostolic practice - though this was often a part of their argument. It was not a mechanical or puritanical concept so much as it was a legal one. In any extended discussion of the subject the words "authority" and "commission", both legal terms, appear over and over again. The whole idea of covenant, so beloved by Liberal Catholic ecumenists, is also a legal concept. This legalism is evident in the oft made statement that sacramental validity does not depend upon any precise form of episcopal structure but upon the succession, which transmits the authority both to consecrate the eucharist and delegate others to do so. In the seventh

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1. Ibid., p.19.
2. Ibid., p.90.

Tract, Newman insisted that the highest ground was not taken when it was argued that episcopacy is the best form of polity or that it originated from the apostolic pattern. It is the principle of succession, not of polity, that is important:

> "Doubtless the more clear and simple principle for a Churchman to hold, is that of Ministerial Succession; which is undeniable as a fact, which is most reasonable as a doctrine, and sufficiently countenanced in Scripture for its practical reception. Of this, Episcopacy, i.e., Superintendence, is but an accident; though, for the sake of conciseness, it is often spoken of by us as synonymous with it."[1]

He illustrates his argument by pointing out that the consecration of a bishop in every parish would not affect the validity of the succession, while it would destroy an episcopal polity. He does not, therefore, reject presbyterianism because of its form, but for the simple fact of legal deficiency: "... the Presbyterian Ministers have assumed a power, which was never entrusted to them. They have presumed to exercise the power of ordination, and to perpetuate a succession of ministers without having received a commission to do so."[2] Perceval makes the

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1. "The Episcopal Church Apostolical," Tracts, Vol. I, p.1.
2. Ibid., p.2. Though Newman's later Tracts, such as this one, reveal more careful thought on this matter, his first Tract does very definitely suggest a mechanical view of transmission. He first describes the fact of succession - "The Lord Jesus Christ gave His Spirit to His Apostles; they in turn laid their hands on those who should succeed them; and these again on others; and so the sacred gift has been handed down to our present bishops, who have appointed us as their assistants, and in some sense

same point with respect to Dissent: "Each sect has some point of difference peculiar to itself: but they all differ in this, namely, that their teachers can produce no commission from Christ to exercise the office of ministers of the Gospel. These have departed from the Apostles' fellowship."[1] Gore took a similar view. He agreed with Newman and the others that the principle at stake is not a polity, but continuity:

> "The Church's doctrine of succession is thus of a piece with the whole idea of the Gospel revelation, as being the communication of a divine gift which must be received and cannot be originated, - received, moreover, through the channels of a visible and organic society; and the principle lies at the last resort in the idea of succession rather than in the continuous existence of what is called above 'monepiscopacy.'"[2]

While there is an actual sacramental continuity in the succession, the fact that it has no meaning, in practical terms, apart from the orderly devolution of canonical and apostolic authority makes the legal aspect of the matter primary in an ecumenical context. The importance of the legal commission to Gore's thought is evident in his discussion of the Alexandrian "presbyterianism":

> "This would only mean that the Alexandrian

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representatives" - and then considers the words of the Ordinal which interpret it. But, he said, "I know the grace of ordination is contained in the laying on of hands, not in any form of words..." Nevertheless in later writings he always stressed the necessity of the proper form of commission as being equally important.

1. Churchman's Manual, p.55.
2. Church and Ministry, pp.63-64.

> presbyters were by the terms of their ordination bishops *in posse*, even though their exercise of episcopal powers, without special election, would have been irregular and would not therefore, according to current teaching, have been accepted as valid. It would not mean... that a presbyter who had been ordained without any special conditions attached to his charge could advance himself under any circumstances to episcopal functions. This supposed arrangement would not, therefore, have touched the principle of the succession, viz., that no ecclesiastical ministry can be validly exercised except such as is covered by a clearly understood commission, received in the regular devolution of ecclesiastical authority."[1]

The emphasis in the above passage is certainly legal. The same idea is implied in Gore's covenant ecclesiology. A covenant is an agreement, and agreements can only be legally transmitted - not mechanically or even sacramentally. In evaluating non-episcopal ministries W. L. Knox also stresses their legal deficiency: "They have no authority to preach the Gospel in the Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and [therefore] the Sacraments which they administer are not Sacraments at all."[2] We have already made reference to Weston's comparison of such bodies with the Ulster Volunteer Force:

> "So with the non-episcopal Churches, their members are Christian, by baptism members of the Kingdom, loyal to the King according to their present mind, zealous, moral, even holy and saintly; claiming to be branches of the Catholic Church of their King. But they have omitted to enlist themselves under the

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1. *Ibid.*, p.300.
2. *The Catholic Movement*, p.251.

> authority of the Bishops who hold the King's commission, and their claim fails."[1]

Again, the deficiency was legal.

The question of authority takes this same form in A. J. Mason's interesting discussion of the relationship between unity, sacrament, and authority. He begins by pointing out that true unity must involve both the one body and the one spirit, both the outward and the inward parts. He is careful to say that by this he does not mean uniformity,[2] but full communion:

> "Intercommunion is the visible proof and the indispensable means of ecclesiastical union. It is the form of the organism. The object of the friends of reunion is - not to make all Christian Churches alike, whether within our country or without - but to reestablish one communion amidst whatever diversities, to do away with the erection of 'altar against altar.'"[3]

In order to secure this unity of communion it is, in Mason's view, necessary to answer the question: who has the right to break the bread and invite to the table, and by what authority? There can be two answers to this question: (a) anarchy, in which any group can delegate this authority, or (b) recognized constitutional and historic order. The first could not be the basis for reunion, and the second resolves itself, in Mason's discussion, into a comparison of the presbyterian and episcopalian claims. On historical

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1. Case Against Kikuyu, p.63.
2. Cf., above, Ch. III, p.320ff.
3. Principles of Unity, p.86.

grounds, the matter is decided in favor of the latter.

He then applies this conclusion to the ecumenical scene:

> "Here, again, the undeviating usage of the Church throughout the world from the first century to the sixteenth, bearing out what appears to be the natural interpretation of the New Testament, is too strong for any modern theory however ingenious it may be. Ecclesiastical reunion will never be brought about on the Presbyterian platform, or on that of Presbyterianism and Episcopacy treated as equally good one with the other. I know that highly revered English Churchmen have felt at liberty to receive communion from ministers who had only Presbyterian ordination. Many Churchmen might be far from sorry if the whole Church throughout the world could agree to permit either method of discipline indifferently. But in practice it is impossible. If the English Church in her corporate capacity were to enter into full communion with the Presbyterian Churches, it would not only cause disruption within the English Church itself; it would bar the way to any reunion with the as yet unreformed Churches of Christendom. The cost would be too great. We must hope that the other counsel will in the end prevail. Few Presbyterians now, I suppose, are so wedded to Presbyterianism that they consider Episcopal Orders null and worthless. They prefer the Presbyterian way, of course; but they hardly consider the way which all Christendom followed for so many centuries unlawful. May we not ask that ultimately, for the sake of unity, the Presbyterian Churches may be willing, under whatever honourable conditions can be thought of, to receive such supplementary additions to their system as would satisfy the Catholic conception of the sacred Orders?"[1]

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1. Ibid., pp.99-100. At least two things should be noted about the Anglo-Catholic approach to non-episcopalians, and particularly presbyterians. They treated the latter body as a class apart from the others because they too had a doctrine of apostolic succession - though it was based, erroneously as the Anglo-Catholics believed, upon the doctrine of the parity of ministers rather than upon the historic episcopate. This was an attitude not confined to

The same legal concern was evident in the Anglo-Catholic attitude towards Swedish consecrations, which, some felt, did not sufficiently distinguish between the presbyteriate and the episcopate - even though among themselves there was disagreement as to the exact nature of the difference, i.e., as to whether it was a difference of degree or of order. In relation to the papal bull of 1896,

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Anglo-Catholic circles, of course. It is clearly revealed in the Lambeth Conference discussions. In the Conferences of 1888 through 1920, it was almost always assumed that when the term non-episcopalian was used the primary reference was to presbyterians. Some Anglo-Catholics even could go a long way towards accepting the presbyterian system, with its traditional emphasis upon order, if only the matter of commission could be settled. In speaking of the variety of polities which the Catholic Church had adopted in the past, Lacey said: "Of another possible extreme an illustration is at hand. The organization of Presbyterianism in Scotland closely resembles that of the African Church in the fourth century, with the added complication of a schism, now in process of healing, not unlike that of the Donatists; if there could be assurance that the parish ministers of Scotland are the true bishops which some at least of them claim to be, the resemblance would be complete, and there would be a very numerous addition to the universal episcopate." Anglo-Catholic Faith, p.86. The second observation that should be made concerns the way in which some Anglo-Catholics attempted to soften what seemed, on the surface of it, to be a judgment upon the past ministry of such bodies. The demand for episcopal ordination, being a legal demand, need in no way have reference to the grace of God in those ministries. Behind this attitude, of course, lie the two points made in the second chapter of this Thesis: (a) the unlimited activity of God's uncovenanted grace, and (b) the distinction between soteriology and ecclesiology. Thus Mason could suggest, as we have seen, that the episcopal commission be received if only to heal the schism. This "for the sake of unity" position was rejected by many Anglo-Catholics, but others were willing to accept it. With reference to a letter from a leading Congregationalist, Mason said: "For a man like him to receive ordination at the hands of a Catholic Bishop need not imply that what he has previously taught was all wrong,

many thought that the Romans themselves had shifted their ground in basing their conclusions on alleged deficiencies in the early form of the Reformed Anglican ordinal, rather than on the historical fact of succession, but in doing so they seldom argued that the matter of the form of the consecration rite was not important - only that the Romans were splitting hairs and erroneous in their interpretation. In considering the ecumenical implications of the Anglo-Catholic doctrine of episcopacy, then, it is necessary to bear three things in mind: (a) the episcopate was associated with the organic continuity of the Church,

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that souls converted by his preaching were still alienated from God, that what he had supposed to be the blessing of the Holy Ghost upon his work was the action of some other spirit... The act is a concession, if you will, for the sake of peace, - an acknowledgment on the part of the man who does it, that he does not possess what the Church understands by ordination, - a token that he desires for high and spiritual reasons to seek what the Church means, and a promise that he will use the authority with which the Church invests him in dutiful accordance with the Church's discipline. I do not see why more need be demanded of a man than this; and where this should be seriously offered by the leaders of a body long separated from the Church, the Church would incur a great responsibility if she rejected it." Principles of Unity, pp.102-103. At the Anglo-Catholic Congress of 1920, Clayton made the same point when he said that he himself would submit to conditional reordination if he thought it would help heal the wounds of Christendom. With reference to non-episcopalians he said: "Let the Nonconformist be willing to satisfy consciences which he may regard as over-scrupulous. It is a small price to pay for healing or avoidance of schism." Anglo-Catholic Congress, 1920, p.105. Though this may not seem like much of a concession to the non-episcopalian, it must be taken in the spirit in which it was offered, and understood in relation to the conditions discussed above.

(b) it was the most important, or at least the most emphasized, visible note of the Catholic Church, and (c) its primary function was the transmission of the apostolic authority necessary to the consecration of a fully valid eucharist. The more specifically political views which will be considered below, must always be regarded as secondary - with whatever tenacity they may have been held.

It was one thing to say that the legal transmission of the apostolic commission could travel through a wide variety of polities, and quite another to accept, as the vehicle of reunion, any system that greatly differed from the Anglican. Some Anglo-Catholics developed a conciliar theory of Church order which bore a marked resemblance to the structure of the Lambeth Conferences. This conciliarism, which featured the idea of regular councils, was, of course, out of keeping with the primitive precedents to which they so often appealed, but they believed that it was a valid development of their basic Cyprianism and that it offered a practical alternative to the papal system. During our period the only serious challenge to this type of thought came from Liberal Catholics like Lacey, who rejected the branch theory and the Cyprianic ideal, or from those whose interest in reunion with Rome raised a vision of the reestablishment of the Western Patriarchate, or of a constitutional papacy.

Nevertheless all agreed that however much room for diversity of practice and method there might be within the reunited Church, there must be episcopal order and sacramental faith. This accounts for the fact that Anglo-Catholics did not always show the breadth in practice that they professed in theory. It was well and good for a Catholic Church to adjust its polity in relation to local conditions and needs, but it was dangerous to allow Protestant communions to maintain systems which had so long embodied a faith that was not "sacramental", as they understood that term. In the less charitable and insufficiently informed early period, this suspicion - for that is precisely what it was - took the form of a demand for penitential submission on the part of non-episcopalians, as a sign of their adoption of a "Catholic" spirit. A course less likely to secure the ends to which many were sincerely committed, the reunion of <u>all</u> Christian bodies, could hardly be imagined. It was only towards the end of the century that the spirit of <u>mutual</u> repentence, rising out of a conviction of mutual guilt, tempered what had been, in fact, a very uncatholic spirit.[1] The Lambeth Conference of 1920 was an impressive expression of this new spirit. It is of no small import that an Anglo-Catholic

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1. The idea of mutual repentence had been applied to relations with Catholic churches at a much earlier time.

bishop was primarily responsible for it.[1]

Though the principle of succession was the primary element in their episcopalianism, there was a widely held belief among Anglo-Catholics that the monepiscopal structure was an inspired instrument of unity. Pusey arrived at this conclusion indirectly in his letter to the Bishop of Oxford. He believed that one of the reasons for the continued existence of Dissent was the failure of the Church sufficiently to impress upon it the doctrine of apostolic succession. If the Church took a firm stand in this matter, Dissent would recognize her as the only possible defense against the increasing strength of Rome. The effect upon Continental Protestantism would be similar. This doctrine would therefore serve as a principle of unity: "And thus the time may be hastened, when we may be all 'one fold under One Shepherd.'"[2] Though the Shepherd here is Christ, Pusey later points out the error of Rome, in failing to see that the bishop, not the Pope, is the symbol and center of visible unity: "... they have not learned to regard their Bishops as the representatives of the Apostles, and to cleave to them as the centres of

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1. E. J. Palmer, the Bishop of Bombay, who was largely responsible for drafting the Conference's Encyclical Letter, and whose speech to the Conference must certainly be considered a landmark in ecumenical history, contributed a sincere spirit of penitence and catholicity to the assembly. Bishop Weston showed much of this same spirit.
2. Letter to Oxford, p.159.

unity..."[1] It is not without significance that Pusey regarded the bishop as the representative of the Apostolate, a collective body, while Newman tended to regard him as the representative of Christ, his "pope." Gore described the unitary function of the episcopate in a way similar to Pusey's: "The ministerial principle, then - the sacerdotalism which cannot be disparaged or repudiated - means just this: that Christianity is the life of an organized society in which a graduated body of ordained ministers is made the instrument of unity."[2] Though he believed that this essential sacerdotalism had been degraded when it became associated with the idea of a higher spiritual existence, such was not a necessary consequence of the earlier conception of the ministry's unitary function: "At least there antedated it the belief that a ministry of bishops, priests, and deacons, of apostolic descent and divine authorization, is the centre of unity in each local Christian society..."[3] He readily admits that this was not the primary function of episcopal order, but he would not therefore say that it was an unnecessary or unwarranted development. His statement of the way in which the bishop came to have a double representational role - representing the local church to the universal, and

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1. Ibid., p.219.
2. Church and Ministry, pp.78-79.
3. Ibid., p.299.

the universal to the local - is characteristic of the way in which Liberal Catholics described his role as the instrument of unity and common life:

> "They meant also that each regularly appointed bishop of a Catholic community contributed the separate witness of his church to the tradition of the 'apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and that these separate strands of witness when brought together and compared and found to be of the same type with one another constituted in their union an indestructible guarantee of continuity and stability. What then was from the outset implied in the regular appointment of a bishop? Obviously in the first place that only one individual could be the true representative for this purpose of each local community; and such individual's right to be so regarded rested on two conditions or relations, his relation to the local community and his relation to the Church at large. Normally the former condition meant that he had been freely chosen by the faithful of the locality as the man they put forward to be their head, and the latter condition meant that this choice had been ratified and made effectual by the bishops of the neighbourhood when they met to confer on the nominee of the community, through prayer and the laying-on of hands, the order of the episcopate."[1]

In his Lux Mundi essay on the Church, Walter Lock also described the episcopate as the guardian of the Church's unity. He was very careful to point out that that unity does not consist in the orders themselves, but "that they are given for the very purpose of securing unity, 'for the perfecting of the saints unto the work of ministering, unto the building up of the body of Christ, till we all

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1. Ibid., pp.60-61.

attain unto the unity of the faith.'"[1] They are "the guardians of the unity of the Church... side by side with the other safeguards of unity, the sacraments and the common faith."[2] Weston put it bluntly: "Is there any revealed basis of reunion other than the Episcopate?"[3]

Anglo-Catholics would not identify the unity of the visible Church with organization alone, this would be to give up the case to Rome, but they did increasingly stress the necessity of some sort of organizational expression of the organic unity of the Church universal. The basis of this idea was the branch theory. Originally an apologetic for the Church of England's claim to be a truly Catholic Church,[4] this theory provided the fundamental assumptions behind Anglo-Catholic ecumenical activity in our period.

One of the principal difficulties with this theory was that it seemed to sanction the visible divisions of the Church. The suggestion that this did not matter because the essential unity was invisible was unacceptable for reasons which we have considered elsewhere.[5] If the visible must reflect the invisible, the Church could not be divided. In order to maintain the branch theory, which most Anglo-Catholics believed they must do to assure the place of their own Church within Catholic unity, they came to distinguish

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1. Lux Mundi, p.379.
2. Ibid., p.380.
3. Case Against Kikuyu, p.60.
4. Cf., above, Ch. I, p.112ff.
5. Cf., above, Ch. II, p.200ff.

between organic and organizational unity. This distinction was therefore fundamental to their ecumenical theology. Organic unity was that continuity of essential life, visible and yet not necessarily uniformly organized, which the structure of the Church should preserve and express. The relationship between the organic and the organizational unity, like the relationship between the unity of the Godhead and the unity of visible forms in the Church, is therefore moral, and the failure to perfectly realize it is in the same class of facts as any moral failure - such as the failure to realize perfect holiness or catholicity. Episcopacy, in the general Anglo-Catholic view, was an element in both the organic and the organizational unities. The organic unity of essential life was established through the historical continuity of episcopal succession, which received that life from Christ. This was the essence of the branch theory. But those churches that possessed this unity were under a moral obligation to realize a full visible unity among themselves. This was not essential to the Church's organic unity, but it was a necessary expression of the Catholic spirit. One result of the advocacy of the branch theory, as we have already noted, was that Anglo-Catholics were primarily interested in reunion with Catholic churches. As Shaw put it: "One result of their insistence on the Succession through the Episcopate was to ensure that reunion with 'Evangelical,' that is, non-

Episcopal Communions, should be out of the question, and that if the Church of England did move towards Reunion at all, it would be with episcopal bodies, particularly with the Roman and with the Eastern Church."[1] Liddon stated the basic assumption in this way: "... the note of Unity is, historically speaking, modified, if you like, obscured; just as are the notes of Sanctity and Universality. Wherever there are the Sacraments, and the Succession, and the OEcumenical Faith, there is Christ; there, too, is the capacity for reunion of other portions of the body which retain these things."[2] While the Liberal Catholics adopted what appears to be a more comprehensive ecumenical interest, the essential conception of what reunion would involve remained the same. This understanding of reunion, as distinguished from the conception of the forms of the reunited Church, deserves much more study than I have been able to give it. When Anglo-Catholics became interested in reunion with non-episcopal bodies, the idea that organizational unity [3] should be an expression of the existing organic unity, led to the conclusion that episcopacy, i.e., the condition of organic unity, should be accepted prior to reunion. It is a mistake to say that they identified

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1. Early Tractarians, pp.35-36.
2. Johnston, H. P. Liddon, p.127.
3. In this context "organizational unity" signifies those conditions by which the ministry and sacraments of the communities involved would be fully acceptable to all.

reunion with the acceptance of episcopacy, they did not. The acceptance of episcopacy was necessary, not because it would provide a visible relationship with the Anglican Church, but because it would bring a Christian community within the organic unity of the Church, and this had nothing to do with intercommunion with the Anglicans. At least not necessarily so. It was difficult for Anglo-Catholic ecumenists to accept the idea of a reunited Church which would only become complete in time, because all parties to reunion must already be constituted within the unity of the Church Catholic. Reunion could only mean a bringing together of equals in this respect - any other conception of it would imply that ecclesiastical unity could be created, and this idea was theologically impossible for them. Life is unity, it cannot be divided. Beneath the gradual transition from an exclusive interest in the Catholic churches to an ecumenical vision that included non-episcopal churches, this idea is clearly evident.

Any Tractarian ecumenical interest was confined to Rome and the East. For Dissent and Presbyterianism in Britain, the only possible course was to return to the Church of England. They were not always quite so consistent with respect to the Continental Protestant churches. Some did suggest that those churches, rightly unable to join with the Roman Church because of its errors, should receive Anglican orders, but there was little interest in

that direction, except when association with such bodies affected the position of the English Church - the Jerusalem Bishopric scheme being the best example of this. There were Anglo-Catholics throughout our period who perpetuated this early exclusive interest in reunion with Rome or the East. But in the sub-Tractarian period one begins to find an interest in reunion with non-episcopalians that was dependent upon the reorganization, rather than the submission, of those bodies. Instead of saying that individuals associated with various non-episcopal communions should join the existing edifice of the Church of England, some ecumenists suggested that if these communities, as communities, set their own house in order, i.e., received valid episcopal orders (not necessarily Anglican) and showed evidence of accepting the Catholic faith, the Anglicans would be willing to establish a relationship of fellowship and intercommunion with them. It must be borne in mind that Anglo-Catholics did not then conceive of visible unity as organizational amalgamation - though this would undoubtedly be necessary where two bodies existed in the same place - but as a relationship similar to that between friendly states. The Protestant churches would have to accept the conception of Christianity called Catholic, Bishop Forbes said, and the acceptance of episcopal orders on their part would be the first step in assuring the Catholics that the Protestants understood this. In a sense

it would be a sign of good faith. The earliest reference I have seen to this idea is in an essay written by E. L. Blenkinsopp in 1866. The essay opens with a rejection of the Evangelical Alliance's conception of unity on the grounds that it had no dogmatic basis and did not comprehend the Catholic churches. He feels, quite to the contrary, that reunion can only take place among the Catholic churches. His definition of reunion, as distinct from absorption, is important: "... re-union means the re-establishment of communion between divided portions of the same body, and the perfect equality of the respective ministers of each, as well as a mutual participation of sacraments, with the confession of a common faith."[1] Reunion is therefore dependent on the possession of valid orders and orthodox faith. After discussing the branch theory, Blenkinsopp raises the question of Protestant bodies - using the Established Kirk of Scotland as an example. Reunion with them is dependent upon their reorganization - the necessity of establishing Catholic order before actual reunion is quite clear. This is not submission to the Anglican Church:

> "[The Established Kirk of Scotland] having established a ministry of mere human appointment and authority, there could not be re-union without entire re-construction. Not only would the parish minister have to acknowledge the

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1. "Reunion of the Church," in Shipley, Church and the World, p.179.

> divine authority of the Bishops for the future; but each minister would himself have to be ordained by a Bishop before he could administer the Sacraments and rites of the Church. Re-construction must take place, before re-union can be accomplished."[1]

Theoretically this could take place without reference to the Anglican Church - provided the episcopal commission was secured from a church validly constituted in the historic succession.[2]

As interest in reunion with non-episcopalians increased, some Anglo-Catholics were willing to go a step further and say that reunion could be affected when those churches had accepted the principle of the historic episcopate, without possessing the fact. This idea influenced the Lambeth Conferences' proposals for reunion from 1888 onwards. It is quite clear from the Conference records that the Quadrilateral on home reunion adopted by the Conference of 1888 was regarded as the basis, not the substance, of reunion discussions. Non-episcopal bodies would have to accept these four points, including the historic episcopate, before further discussion could take place. In 1888 the resistence to the Quadrilateral came from those who felt that this condition was not sufficiently

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1. Ibid., pp.180-181.
2. Another interesting thing about this essay is that its author does look forward to an eventual organizational merger as the best expression of the basic organic unity. That he is primarily concerned with the local English situation is evident when he suggests that this might involve joint appointment to ecclesiastical offices, etc. Ibid., pp.188-189.

clear - and subsequent interpretations in some quarters have proved their fears well grounded. It is this attitude that accounts for the bishops' reluctance, prior to 1920, actually to initiate reunion discussions. There had to be evidence that the Quadrilateral was accepted first - and such acceptance was not forthcoming.[1] This was as far as the branch theory would allow Anglo-Catholics to go, but it represented a significant advance in their ecumenical theory for it allowed them to participate in and contribute to the modern Ecumenical Movement. It also explains what often seems to be a preoccupation with the episcopacy as the first matter of discussion in ecumenical conferences. It explains their oft repeated, but seldom heard, claim that they are not asking non-episcopalians to accept Anglican ordination, but Catholic order. This was the assumption behind the words of an Anglo-Catholic bishop addressed to the Lambeth Conference of 1920:

> "What we have to say to other portions of the Catholic Church [here using the term in the comprehensive sense in which the Appeal uses the term Universal Church] of Christ not now in communion with us is not 'What are the terms on which you could enter into communion with the pitiful Anglican Communion?' Certainly not. Quite humbly, as people placed in a middle position, we can look and feel out towards both sides, we should try to prophesy and to say what the Church ought to be and will be, and if it is at all reasonable, to show how this or that body of persons might find

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1. Cf., below, Appendix C, for a more detailed discussion of this subject.

> themselves within the great future Church - not without disowning their past, for anybody who repents disowns his past, but without sacrificing the grace of God given to them in their past."[1]

Though we have considered the branch theory in relation to the Anglo-Catholic apologetic for the Church of England, it will be our purpose here to consider it in relation to the conception of Church structure. Newman thus described the theory in his Introduction to Deacon Palmer's Notes of a Visit to the Russian Church in the years 1840, 1841:

> "Palmer, deeply convinced of the truth that our Lord had instituted, and still acknowledges and protects, a visible Church - one, indivisible, and integral - Catholic, as spread over the earth, Apostolic as co-eval with the Apostles of Christ, and Holy, as being the dispenser of His Word and Sacraments - considered it at present to exist in three main branches, or rather in a triple presence, the Latin, the Greek, and the Anglican. These three being one and the same Church, distinguishable from each other only by secondary, fortuitous, and local, though important, characteristics. And, whereas the whole Church in its fulness was, as they believed, at once and severally Anglican, Greek, and Latin, so in turn each one of those three was the whole Church; whence it followed that, whenever any one of the three was present, the other two, by the nature of the case, were absent, and therefore the three could not have direct relations with each other, as if they were three substantive bodies, there being no real difference between them except the external accident of place. Moreover since, as has been said, on a given territory, there could not be more than one of the three, it followed that Christians generally, wherever they were, were bound to

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1. From a MSS in the Lambeth Palace Library.

> recognize, and had a claim to be recognized by, that one, ceasing to belong to the Anglican Church, as Anglican when they were at Rome, and ignoring Rome as Rome, when they found themselves in Moscow. Lastly, not to acknowledge this inevitable outcome of the initial idea of the Church, viz., that it was both everywhere and one, was bad logic, and to act in opposition to it was nothing short of setting up altar against altar, that is the hideous sin of schism and sacrilege.
> "This I conceive to be the formal teaching of Anglicanism; this is what we held and professed in Oxford forty years ago."[1]

Newman here places too much emphasis upon the claim of each branch to be the whole Church. He himself made no such claim for the English Church while a member of it - in fact, the Tractarians were anxious to say just the opposite, i.e., that each branch was the Church in that place, but that only together did they constitute the universal Church. The main structure of the theory, however, is accurately stated, as are the implications drawn from it.[2] The main features of this theory are: (a) intercommunion is not necessary to the note of unity, (b) the absence of external communion does not necessarily mean schism, and (c) the means of grace remain valid so long as the succession, i.e., the connection with Christ, is maintained.

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1. Quoted in Shaw, Early Tractarians, pp.22-23.
2. It is said that Roman Catholic Dr. Wiseman referred to this as the "ultramarine theory," whereby Roman Catholics became schismatics by crossing the Straits of Dover. He did not, it would seem, go on to qualify that statement, as the Tractarians would have done, to say "only if they communicated at the altars of the schismatic body of Christians who are in communion with Rome, instead of at those of the Catholic Church in England."

In a British Critic article Newman referred to this arrangement as the polity of "Episcopal independency." In that same article he places the idea of succession at the heart of the scheme: "The Anglican view, then, of the Church has ever been this, that its portions need not otherwise have been united together for their essential completeness, than as being descended from one original... the Apostolic Succession is necessary in order to their possessing claim of descent."[1] Estrangement between churches is a sin, but not so much of a sin "as to violate the primary notion, the essence of the Church."[2]

In the sub-Tractarian period Pusey remained a strong advocate of the branch theory. Referring to visible unity in the ideal sense, he was quite willing to say "that entire visible unity is not vouchsafed to the Church in these last days..."[3] Visible unity in this context evidently means intercommunion, which to him meant little more than an expression of Christian charity - assuming, of course, that the churches were in other respects sufficiently constituted. The branch theory provided the assumptions of the whole sub-Tractarian ecumenical program, in which Pusey played so important a part before 1870.[4]

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1. "Catholicity of the English Church," British Critic, LIII (Jan., 1840), p.48.
2. Ibid., p.63.
3. Letter to Canterbury, p.22.
4. Cf., above, Ch. I, p.112ff.

While the only logically necessary condition of validity under the terms of this theory was a structure that would ensure the transmission of apostolic authority through the sacramental rite of the laying-on of hands, there was a tendency among Anglo-Catholics to identify Catholic order not with succession alone, but with the threefold structure of Anglican orders. The branch theory in itself was primarily an apologetic concept and therefore to meet the needs of the increasingly complex ecumenical situation, which developed towards the end of the century, it was necessary to have a more positive idea of Church structure. It was at this point that the more or less Cyprianic ecclesiastical structure, which these men thought to be the apostolic polity and therefore of divine origin, was applied to ecumenics. This structure was first suggested by the Tractarians as an alternative to the Establishment and then used to justify the Movement's advocacy of ideas which were opposed by a number of English bishops, but not by the Oxford diocesan. In the tenth Tract, Newman contrasts this system with that of the Nonconformists, with the obvious intention of showing that even if the Church of England were disestablished it need not "degenerate" into the ways of Dissent: "They [the bishops] witness Christ in their station; - there is but one Lord to save us, and there is but one Bishop in each place. The meetingers have no head, they are all of them mixed

together in a confused way."[1] In the Apologia the Tractarian conception of Church structure is outlined in Cyprianic terms:

> "For myself, I held with the Anglican divines, that, in the Primitive Church, there was a very real mutual independence between its separate parts, though, from a dictate of charity, there was in fact a close union between them. I considered that each See and Diocese might be compared to a crystal, and that each was similar to the rest, and that the sum total of them all was only a collection of crystals. The unity of the Church lay, not in its being a polity, but in its being a family, a race, coming down by apostolical descent from its first founders and bishops."[2]

This was, in a sense, simply the application of the principles of the branch theory to the structure of each branch; or, conversely, the branch theory was simply the wider application of principles that had first been applied to the structure of the English Church itself.

Palmer's Treatise presents a somewhat divergent position. A bishop's authority in government, if not his sacramental commission, rested upon his function as a representative of the whole Church: "In every assembly, that resolution which is proposed in the name of all, and which is opposed by none, or only by a few, is accounted the judgment of the remainder. In the same manner, the judgment of the church may be abundantly made known by the formal public acts of a few of its members; approved,

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1. "Heads of a Week-Day Lecture," Tracts, Vol. I, p.4.
2. Apologia, pp.198-199.

accepted, and acted on by the remainder."[1] In the Church the ministers have been delegated to perform this function. He does not feel that a standing tribunal is necessary to this system. Even the authority of synodical decrees rests upon their acceptance by the whole body of the Church. In later Anglo-Catholic thought, this conception of the bishop as representing the whole Church was allied with the belief in a special apostolic commission, i.e., the development of an essential sacerdotalism.

In the sub-Tractarian period the early and largely unsystematized ideas about Church structure were more consistently applied to the problem of a reunited Christendom. They took on increasing importance as Anglo-Catholics began to question the ultimate adequacy of the branch theory. While it might be an adequate account of the present situation, it could not provide anything but a temporary, certainly not ideal, ecclesiastical structure. In other words, Pusey's charitable relationships needed to be organized. Several systems were visualized. Curteis, in an early work on home reunion, described the "Old Catholic System" - by which he meant the system "which now exists in the National Church of England"[2] - as combining "unity" with "free play." Each man and each congregation

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1. Treatise, Vol. II, p.77.
2. Dissent, p.xviii.

must sacrifice their private liberty for the common good in maintaining "the one normal type" of organization and ritual, while at the same time allowances must be made for local and national preferences and characteristics. "Power, energy, and momentum" are engendered by the lower orders through clerical synods, mixed congresses, conventions, and conferences, while the bishops, rectors, etc., provide "practical and executive authority."[1] Above them archbishops and patriarchs "form centres and guarantees of unity, but are not invested with any considerable power."[2] He describes the Archbishop of Canterbury as the Patriarch of the English-speaking churches, "if he may not fairly claim the Presidency of the whole Teutonic Church, which owes its foundation mainly to English missions."[3] He disapproves of the practice of appealing to foreign bishops since this procedure had led to the illegitimate papal development and, conceivably, might do so again. Curteis' arguments tend to be practical rather than theological, and, while he does suggest a patriarchal structure, he does not really deal with the problem of a universal structure.

Writing some sixteen years after Curteis, S. Kettlewell claimed divine sanctions for a detailed ecclesiastical structure - a structure which was therefore obligatory.

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1. Ibid., p.xvii.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

Christ instituted a plan in order that the unity of the Church might be preserved. It involved the establishment of a corporate society to which all Christians must belong. And this society was to have a uniform appearance: "For we believe that the plan of the divine Architect is uniform, and that His Church wherever it is builded according to His directions, will present the same appearance, and have the same essential order and characteristics."[1] This refers both to faith and government - the latter including the threefold order of ministry, - the administration of the dominical sacraments, divine worship in "settled form," and submission to the rules and disciplines of the community. This order was present in the mind of God before the Incarnation, revealed to the Apostles by Christ, established as the basis of unity after the resurrection by the apostolic college at Jerusalem, and dispersed in the mission of the Church after the pattern was perfected there. The apostolic authority was passed on to others who maintained the structure. This was the rule of unity which should continually guide the Church: "That Christians everywhere should live under one and the same rule or government, and steadfastly abide one and the same constitution, as laid down at the beginning."[2] Thus far

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1. An Inquiry into the Basis of True Christian Unity, Vol. I (London: 1888), p.56.
2. Ibid., p.191.

Kettlewell has not dealt with any organization wider than that of the local church, and he is therefore still within the limits of the branch theory. But, he continues: "Catholicity as is well known to those who study the ancient history of the Church, consisted chiefly in each branch retaining its independency, and in the agreement and decisions of all her Bishops, or the majority of them, relative to what is the Faith, Constitution, and order of the Church, as it had been received from the beginning."[1] This statement of the static view of authority implies the existence of some means of organizing the agreements and decisions of the bishops. In the twelfth chapter of the book we have been considering a very interesting comparison between the Tridentine and Vatican Councils, on the one hand, and the Lambeth Conferences on the other gives substance to this suggestion. Though Kettlewell entirely misunderstood the nature of the Lambeth Conferences, his discussion does show the kind of inter-diocesan structure which he visualized as the ideal. In the first place, his comparison of the Conferences with the two Roman synods suggests that the supra-diocesan organization should have an official status with an authoritative relationship to the parts represented. Furthermore, "decisions of this Conference [Lambeth 1888], though less in number, and

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1. Ibid., p.371.

making less pretensions, should be of infinitely more value, and carry greater weight with them among all Christians, than those of the Vatican Council, and those of the Council of Trent."[1] The Lambeth Conferences are, he believed, "as near as possible, in these days, to those first General Councils of the Churches."[2] Kettlewell was not the last Anglican to put forward the pattern of these conferences as an ecumenical ideal,[3] but he was certainly among the first to do so.

Liberal Catholicism, with its strong emphasis on the corporate nature of the Church, necessarily concerned itself with the structural form of that Church. At the same time that these men were formulating their ecumenical ideas, members of all parties within the English Church, as well as Nonconformists, were showing an increasing interest in some form of structural unity. The suggestions of these non-Catholics usually took the form of plans for organized cooperation or federation. The proposals put forward at the Kikuyu Missionary Conference of 1913 are an example of one such suggestion.[4] The controversy over the implicit violation of Catholic order in these proposals

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1. Ibid., p.433.
2. Ibid., p.434.
3. Cf., Resolution 74 of the Lambeth Conference of 1948, and Resolutions 16 and 17 of the Conference of 1958, all of which at least suggest a similar idea.
4. Cf., above, Ch. I, p.84ff.

stimulated a great deal of Anglo-Catholic thought concerning the principles involved in reunion with non-episcopalian churches. It was therefore necessary to give the question of episcopacy more careful thought than had been necessary when ecumenical interest was largely confined to other episcopal churches. Probably the most significant ecumenical theology to emerge from the controversy was produced by Frank Weston, Bishop of Zanzibar. It can only be a matter of speculation as to how much greater this influence might have been if his mind had been allowed to mature.[1]

The main outlines of Weston's theology are found in a booklet published soon after the Kikuyu controversy, The Case Against Kikuyu. He begins with the question of whether or not the episcopal constitution of the Church is jure divino - "All else is beside the point... The issue is simple, plain, direct."[2] Assuming the positive answer to the above question, he proceeds:

> "We must then concentrate our power upon winning from all Christians, catholic and non-catholic, an acknowledgment that in the local Bishop is the Christ-given centre of union here on earth, and in the universal College of Bishops is the permanent bond of union between all members of the Church, of every nation and tongue, on earth and beyond the veil...
> "The principle involved in all such conferences is, then, this: that on earth the local Bishop

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1. Weston died at the age of 53 in 1924.
2. Case Against Kikuyu, p.8.

> is our link with the Catholic Church; and the College of Bishops is the complete bond of union, of which the local Bishop is its point of contact with the individual soul."[1]

In the first part of his discussion, he uses a type of *a priori* argument common in Anglo-Catholic writing on the subject. Arguing from the fact that non-episcopalians do not agree on Church order, he concludes that one of two positions must be taken on the question: "... either God has no particular mind about the Church's ministry, or that the Episcopal ministry is the form that He Himself desires us to accept."[2] Non-episcopalians, he says, depend, for their principle of order, upon the unknown period between the apostolic Church and the episcopal Church of the second century. But this basis is unreliable because one must assume that the form of government which did in fact emerge was the work of the Holy Spirit, and the work of the Holy Spirit must be in accord with the will of Christ. Having thus established, to his satisfaction, the divine origins of the episcopate, communion with which provided "a divinely appointed visible test of true, permanent membership in the Church on earth," he goes on to discuss its function. In the first place, it expresses the relationship between the Head and the members. Since it

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1. *Ibid.*, p.9.
2. *Ibid.*, p.15. He carefully rules out any non-episcopalian contribution to the subject by disqualifying the position of such critics as "unscientific," because "A scientific critic would first throw himself into the life of the Catholic Church." *Ibid.*

must witness to the oneness of the body, it must be one, i.e., a single bishop. He is chosen from the local group, and yet is in communion with the whole. In the second place, the episcopate witnesses to Christ and His teaching. Thirdly, it serves the pastoral function. Fourthly, the bishop is the chief representative of the local church in its offering of worship: "So that, judged by primitive Church order, as by Catholic theology, the Bishop, the living link, is a divinely-ordered necessity for the offering of the ideal worship."[1] Fifthly, he represents the local church in dealing with other local churches. He is under obligation to the universal college of bishops and the decisions of the councils. This obligation is much stronger in Weston's mind than it was, say, in Newman's. In the second part of this book, Weston develops these ideas with reference to the structure of the reunited Church. The structure he visualizes is Cyprianic, with the addition of a more or less patriarchal or national body between the diocese and the college. The college inherits the promise made to St. Peter, the representative of the apostolate. It therefore has a pastoral as well as doctrinal function:

> "To this College was the commission given to feed Christ's sheep, and through this College the Spirit of God provides a light to those who walk in darkness."[2]

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1. Ibid., p.25.
2. Ibid., p.35.

So remarkable is the resemblance between the claims made for this college and those made for the See of St. Peter by the Roman Church, that Weston even goes so far as to say that the individual has the right of appeal beyond his own bishop to that body.[1] The bishop's mediatorial role is quite clear. In the college he is reponsible to the church he represents, in that church he is responsible to the college. In no sense is he a free agent.

Weston's The Fulness of Christ is an extensive and valuable statement of the issues he conceived to be at stake at Kikuyu. Here his episcopal theory is placed within the context of the religious philosophy which we considered in the second chapter of this Thesis.[2] His emphasis upon the corporate acts of the Church necessarily implies some sort of structural unity. This necessity leads Weston to argue a priori for the episcopal organization as jure divino:

> "It is then impossible to believe, a priori, that God would have left us without such plans as are essential to a human brotherhood which, in Christ, is to be the family and Church of God, the royal priesthood, the Temple of the divine Spirit. A priori we ought to have expected an organization giving us scope for self-subordination, service, and a common life. And in historical fact such an organization has always existed, claiming Apostolic authority; while the Apostles themselves were chosen,

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1. Ibid., p.62.
2. Cf., above, Ch. II, p.187ff.

> appointed, ordained, and commissioned by the Incarnate Reason Himself."[1]

The necessary prelude to reunion, then, is for all Christians to search for this organization - Weston having the advantage of knowing where the search will end beforehand. Because this is the ecumenical task, that work is clearly an atoning work: "What we suggest is a preliminary agreement on the general principle that reunion is the atonement in working; that there is a centre of atonement; a centre both capable of expression in human form, and actually expressed by divine authority in the Apostolic Church."[2] This identification of reunion with God's atoning work is Weston's most valuable contribution to Anglo-Catholic ecumenical theology. The ecumenical task is no longer at the periphery, but at the very center of the Church's work. As we have observed before, Weston was not very happy with the distinct separation of soteriology and ecclesiology which characterized so much Anglo-Catholic ecumenical thought. The ecumenical task was much more significant than a simple tidying up of the human side of the New Covenant, in accordance with God's will. It was a necessary part of Christ's <u>own</u> work in reconciling man to God. And episcopal order has a necessary relationship to that atoning work.

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1. <u>Fulness of Christ</u>, p.14.
2. <u>Ibid</u>., p.23.

In the chapter entitled "Apostolate and Episcopate," Weston says that a part of the Church's moral obligation to witness to the reality of God must involve an expression of His two characteristics of transcendence and immanence. This had been done by the apostolate, he believed, and continues to be done by the episcopate:

> "The Apostolate is a real witness to God's Transcendence: a society of teachers sent out from Jerusalem to teach the whole world; their commission from God, not from man; their message clear, definite, incisive; and their authority over their fellows backed by divine sanction... and if the Apostolate had not been continued in the Episcopate we should be driven to confess the cessation of the revelation [of Transcendence]."[1]

At the same time they expressed the immanence of God, when in their hands "material things became sacraments of spiritual force and divine grace."[2] As the apostolate finished its work, each local church "awoke to find the witness to immanent love and power there in its very midst; as men of its own township were duly consecrated and empowered to minister this sacramental life and force."[3] This is the God-given bridge between transcendent God and His creatures. Weston goes on to suggest that it is the whole college of bishops, rather than the individual as such, that stands for the transcendent, and the individual bishop, as the elected representative of the local church,

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1. Ibid., p.151.
2. Ibid., p.152.
3. Ibid.

who witnesses to the immanent presence of God among all His people. Though expressed in this structural form, it is not the structure, but the reality to which it points, that most concerns Weston. Though not so thorough a scholar, or so consistent a theologian, as many of his Liberal Catholic fellows, Weston often reveals a depth of insight not found among the others. The following comments on the shortcomings of the doctrine of apostolic succession are a case in point:

> "A very large amount of the prejudice against the Episcopal Priesthood arises from a mistaken emphasis upon man's part therein. No doubt it is the fault of controversy that men so often regard the settled ministry as, in a large measure, man's fulfilment of a contract with God. Some men speak and write as if we cannot expect God's bounty unless we set out before our heavenly Father an array of ministers, each one of whom is rightly ordained in due succession to those who went before. As if a succession of beggars were in itself a ground of petition likely to move the Father's Heart! Now, of course, there is some truth underlying this idea; but so conceived and stated it has led men to regard God as holding His hand until we provide the official channels of communication between Himself and the human race."[1]

Weston's conception of the whole body of the Church as the vehicle of the immanent God - which was similar to Gore's conception of the Church as the Spirit-bearing body - saved him from an overemphasis upon the eucharistic presence and a legalistic preoccupation with the validity of the celebrant's orders. A developed doctrine of the Holy

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1. Ibid., p.158.

Spirit [1] often saved the Liberal Catholics from the extreme legalism which one often finds in other forms of static Anglo-Catholicism. It allowed them to take much more seriously the oft repeated claim that God had made Nonconformists an instrument in the bringing of the world to Himself. But while men like Weston may have advocated a monepiscopal structure for different reasons than those advanced by the Tractarian and sub-Tractarian ecumenists, their insistence upon the necessity of such a structure was not less resolute.

The application of these principles to a detailed structure was undertaken by Weston, together with F. T. Woods and M. L. Smith, in a book which claimed to be a description of the organization envisaged by the Lambeth Conference of 1920. Though there was little support for this contention in the Conference papers, Lambeth and Reunion is interesting as a revelation of the authors' own ideas of what reunion would involve. The various episcopal communions would continue in their present forms of worship and order, but would agree to a certain minimum of doctrine - explaining certain difficulties to the satisfaction of all: "It [the Conference] dissents from a theory of national uniformity. It proclaims a new theory of unity - varying groups linked in one organic fellowship."[2] The

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1. Cf., above, Ch. II, p.176ff.
2. Lambeth and Reunion, p.56.

bishops of this organic fellowship would preside over a specific body of people, not over a geographical area. This, of course, represents an attempt to solve the problem of integrating the English and the Roman churches who claim jurisdiction in the same place. All such groups should receive from the others whatever those bodies feel is necessary to validate their ministry, but at the same time this must not constitute a denial of their present orders. Anglicans would therefore be willing to receive a commission from Rome, "provided they be not asked to deny their present orders."[1] This question was raised at the Conference in relation to the eighth section of the Appeal. It reads:

> "VIII. We believe that for all, the truly equitable approach to union is by the way of mutual deference to one another's consciences. To this end, we who sent forth this appeal would say that if the authorities of other Communions should so desire, we are persuaded that, terms of union having been otherwise satisfactorily adjusted, Bishops and clergy of our Communion would willingly accept from these authorities a form of commission or recognition which would commend our ministry to their congregations, as having its place in the one family life. It is not in our power to know how far this suggestion may be acceptable to those to whom we offer it. We can only say that we offer it in all sincerity as a token of our longing that all ministries of grace, theirs and ours, shall be available for the service of our Lord in a united Church. It is our hope that the same motive would lead ministers who have not received it to accept a commission through episcopal ordination, as obtaining for

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1. Ibid., p.60.

them a ministry throughout the whole fellowship, etc."[1]

The reference was clearly to non-episcopal churches. But in discussion the question was raised as to whether or not Anglicans would be willing to receive conditional re-ordination from the Church of Rome. Though some bishops expressed a willingness to do so "in the interests of unity," there were others who said that they were not prepared to receive such reordination. Therefore the authors' application of this section of the Appeal to relations between episcopal bodies does not express "the mind of the Conference."[2] Though an individual would normally maintain communion with his own group, they continue, it would be permissible, when necessary, for him to communicate with the others. The same would be true of the ministry. In each district there would be a synod of bishops, and these synods would deal with general concerns, not "internal affairs," and would occasionally "merge into larger councils." With even less support from the Conference, they continue: "And always there would remain a general council, with the Bishop of Rome in the chair. Organic unity is secured by the common spiritual life of the bishops of every group."[3] Thus, "A constitutional papacy could be

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1. Lambeth Conferences (1867-1948), pp.39-40.
2. Cf., below, Appendix C, p.563ff.
3. Weston, etc., Op. cit., p.61.

made to serve the interests of the united fellowship."[1] Then they consider the place of non-episcopal bodies in this scheme. These bodies would group together, elect bishops who would be consecrated by existing bishops, and then join the district synod of bishops. Each group would maintain its present order, save for the addition of the bishop.[2] A certain unity of faith and sacramental practice would also have to be secured. In some respects this structure and reunion procedure represents a departure from Weston's earlier thought, and it has little in common with sub-Tractarian ideas. The conception of the general council or synod as an almost administrative agency was a development which outdistanced the Cyprianic structure, but it was characteristic of much Anglo-Catholic thought on the subject.

The suggestion of a constitutional papacy is also characteristic of much current Anglo-Catholic thought. They usually placed the papacy into an essentially concilliar structure, as either the Western Patriarch or the Primate of all Christendom, but he would have no real jurisdiction beyond the Roman See. Rome would be accorded the position of honor and respect which was its due, but little more. We find this idea as far back as the Tractarian period. In 1841 a writer in the British Critic

1. Ibid., p.57.
2. Ibid., p.64.

called attention to the special position of the Roman Church:

> "We trust, of course, that active and visible union with the See of Rome is not of the essence of a Church; at the same time, we are deeply conscious that, in lacking it, far from asserting a right, we forgo a great privilege. Rome has imperishable claims upon our gratitude, and, were it so ordered, upon our deference. She is our 'elder sister' in the Faith; nay, she is our Mother; to whom, by the grace of God, we owe it that we are what we are; for her sins and for our own, we are estranged from her in the presence, not in the heart; may we never be provoked to forget her, or to cease to love her, even though she frown upon us, and to desire, 'if it were possible,' to be at one with her!"[1]

In Ward's Ideal we find much the same attitude: "But not only were these extremely high views held, in primitive times, on the essential importance of Catholic sympathy and visible unity, the Bishop of Rome was also held in very peculiar honour and regard."[2] Lacey, in considering the papal problem, points out that there were a number of different Anglo-Catholic attitudes towards the subject, but that most would stop short of direct and complete jurisdictional claims. They stood with the Gallicanism which the Vatican Council rejected. This view was evident at the Anglo-Catholic Congress of 1920, where it was suggested that the Roman See should serve as a visible center of unity within a constitutional system that "will

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1. "Bishop Jewel: His Character, Correspondence, and Apologetic Treatises," British Critic, LIX (July, 1841), p.3.
2. Ideal, p.125.

adequately protect Catholic liberties from autocratic interference."[1] Together with constitutional safeguards it would be necessary to reconcile papal theory with a conciliar structure. There must be "the freedom and supreme legislative authority of ecumenical Councils, and their right to determine the orthodoxy and binding force of Papal definitions and decretals."[2] In other words, this speaker advocated reunion with Rome on the principles which had been specifically rejected at Trent and the Vatican Council.

Viscount Halifax was without question the greatest sub-Tractarian exponent of reunion with Rome. To secure that end he was willing to go a long way towards the recognition of Roman claims. He believed that Anglicans could trade a recognition of papal primacy for Roman recognition of their orders. On the validity of Anglican orders he would give no ground. His passion for reunion and his deep personal friendship with certain Roman ecumenists (of the Gallican party) resulted in a rather naive approach to the whole question, however. He accepted the sub-Tractarian conviction that the differences between the two churches could be explained to the satisfaction of all concerned, if only they could sit down together in good faith. In this he underestimated both Anglican and Roman

1. Anglo-Catholic Congress, 1920, p.157.
2. Ibid.

opposition. Of the doctrine of papal infallibility he said: "... it might perhaps be shown that the infallibility claimed for the Pope was in reality nothing less than the infallibility of the Church."[1] He would even go so far as to say that the Petrine claims were jure divino, rather than jure ecclesiastica. In a small pamphlet entitled Reunion and the Roman Primacy, he outlined his position for the benefit of the E.C.U. This was evidently an attempt to regain support for a position which had suffered several important reversals among Anglo-Catholics in the early 1920's. He bases his argument upon the acceptance of the papacy's claim of Petrine succession. The idea of unity is essential to the Catholic conception of the Church, he said, and,

> "... this unity was to be not merely local, but a unity which includes all local Churches, constituting a visible unity between them analogous to the unity which bound all the members of the local Church with one another. And finally, just as there was one faith, so, as the Church spread and increased, the need was increasingly felt for one authority which should have a care for and watch over the faith common to all."[2]

Though he stresses the necessity of one over-all center of visible unity, he attempts to do this without departing from a conciliar position. His ambiguity in defining the relationship between Pope and council probably reflects the

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1. Further Considerations, p.41.
2. Reunion and the Roman Primacy, p.13.

influence of post-Vatican Gallicanism. "A living organization is not an automaton," he said, "... and there cannot be a rigorous delimitation of the rights of the Papacy and of the Episcopate in regard to one another. Thus conceived, the constitution of the Church allows, according to its needs, of centralization and of de-centralization."[1] He then repeats, both with more force and less perception, his belief that, in the Roman view of the matter, infallibility does not reside with the Pope alone:

> "... granted the infallibility of the Church, which neither Anglicans nor the Orthodox Church would dispute, it is a matter of elementary theology that this infallibility is not confined to and does not reside in the Pope alone, that this authority is not separate from that of the Episcopate, but resides also in the body of bishops dispersed throughout the world, or in the Episcopate assembled in Oecumenical Council."[2]

Which only goes to show that Anglo-Catholic logic and Roman Catholic logic do not travel the same path. In the concluding section of this work, Halifax supports a view of the Church's structural unity which is based upon a quotation from Mgr. Duchesne's The Churches Separated from Rome [3]:

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1. Ibid., pp.23-24.
2. Ibid., p.26.
3. This is a good example of the way Anglo-Catholic ecumenists sought support among Roman Catholics who could hardly be described either as holding great favor with Roman authorities, or advocating views representative of the vast majority of that Church.

> "No competitor, no rival stands up against her [Rome], no one conceives the idea of being her equal [referring to Rome's status in the Primitive Church]. Later on there will be patriarchs and other local primates, whose first beginning can be but vaguely perceived during the course of the third century. Above these rising organizations, and above the whole body of isolated Churches, the Church of Rome as represented by the long series of her bishops, which ascends to the two chiefs of the Apostolic College; she knows herself to be, and is considered by all, the centre and organ of unity."[1]

During the same period in which Halifax was conversing with Roman Catholics as a representative of the Church of England - sometimes privately, sometimes officially, - a much more extreme form of papalism developed among a small group of Anglo-Catholics in Britain and America. This group, led by Spencer Jones in Britain, was primarily reunionist. They were committed to the task of convincing the English Church that it should submit to the Church of Rome. The structure Jones envisaged as securing the unity of the Church is a good example of what happens when logic is substituted for theology:

> "If we contemplate the various degrees in the hierarchy from the lowest to the highest we shall find ourselves reasoning thus: A parish is a circle within the diocese, and an incumbent sits at its centre; a diocese is a circle within the province, and a Bishop sits at its centre; a province comprises many dioceses, and a Metropolitan sits at its centre; the Church comprises many provinces and _____."[2]

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1. Ibid., pp.26-27.
2. Holy See, p.244.

This group gained little ground during our period, and shortly thereafter branched off on its own. Only their decision to secure their objectives from within the English Church distinguished these men from members of the Roman communion.[1]

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1. When the Confraternity of Unity was founded in New York in 1926, its Profession of Faith was as follows:
"I believe in one only God in three divine Persons, distinct from, and equal to, each other - that is to say, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.
"I believe in the Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation, Passion, Death, and Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ; and the personal union of the Natures, the divine and the human; the divine Maternity of the most holy Mary, together with her most spotless Virginity, and also her Immaculate Conception and Assumption.
"I believe in the true, real, and substantial presence of the Body and Blood, together with the Soul and Divinity, of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the most holy Sacrament of the Eucharist.
"I believe in the seven Sacraments instituted by Jesus Christ for the salvation of mankind - that is to say, Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Orders, Matrimony.
"I believe in Purgatory, the Resurrection of the Dead, Everlasting Life.
"I believe in the Primacy, not only of honour but of jurisdiction, of the Roman Pontiff, successor of St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, Vicar of Jesus Christ.
"I believe in the veneration of the Saints and their images.
"I believe in the authority of the Apostolic and Ecclesiastical Traditions, and of the Holy Scriptures, which we must interpret and understand only in the sense which our holy mother the Catholic Church has held and does hold.
"And, I believe in everything else that has been defined and declared by the sacred Canons and by the General Councils, and particularly by the Holy Council of Trent, and delivered, defined, and declared by the General Council of the Vatican, especially concerning the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff, and his infallible teaching authority."
Reunion (Dec., 1951), pp.485-486.

Thus far we have been considering the conception of structural unity among Anglo-Catholics who accepted, in the main, the presuppositions of the branch theory - excepting, of course, the Anglican Papalists. But there were others who did not accept these presuppositions uncritically. Canon Lacey was one of these. As a theory of unity he believed that the branch theory, as it was usually stated, placed too much emphasis upon the external structure and too little upon the organic reality beneath it. He repudiated the idea that the unity of the Church consisted only in the organic connection with Christ Incarnate. He preferred the figure of the sea to that of branches, as we have seen: "For the branches of a tree, though they spring from a common stem, and derive sap from the same root, have no sort of actual communication or intercourse with each other, none of that free circulation which establishes a real unity between the various divisions of the sea."[1] But since he admitted the existence, and even the desirability, of juridically distinct communions, Lacey was forced to accept the usual Anglo-Catholic distinction between the organizational and the organic unity of the Church:

> "The Catholic Church is at once a multitude of believers and a single organism. In the multitude each bishop is one, and no more; in the

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1. Unity of the Church, p.21.

> organism the bishops jointly are preponderant. The multitude is not negligible... But it cannot act, except as organized; and... all organization is in the proper sense of the word accidental. It can be organized, if at all, only in sections... As a whole, it is visible and audible only to God. The episcopate also is organized by sections, but it has an organic unity independent of organization, substantial, perdurable. It is not the less one because some of its organized sections unhappily disagree."[1]

The episcopate, therefore, has a real existence in both the organizational and the organic realms. This distinction must be clearly borne in mind for Lacey sometimes seems to suggest that episcopacy is not necessary to the form of the Church, when all he means is that a particular form of organization, such as the monepiscopacy, is not necessary to the organic or essential unity of the Church.

Lacey criticizes the tendency among some Anglicans to overemphasize the organizational element. Of Hammond's thought he says:

> "It is clear that Hammond regarded the essential unity of the Church as founded mainly in uniformity of government and the common use of sacraments. Unity of faith, as of mutual charity, he seems to place rather among the objects of the Christian life, to be earnestly desired and carefully sought, than among those properties by which the one Church may be discerned. This way of thinking was common to most English theologians of the time. They insisted much upon the corporate organization of the Church; careful attention to the form of public worship, strict observance of canonical order, would have the effect of bringing men to the right faith as well; they hardly regarded the possibility of any Church

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1. Anglo-Catholic Faith, p.85.

> retaining the apostolic discipline and yet losing the faith. Recognizing no rule in the Church but that of the bishops, the successors of the Apostles, they judged all men who were duly subject to their bishop in their own particular Church to be fully established in the universal Church as well; the bishops of the several Churches throughout the world were, potentially at least, united in one supreme senate ruling the whole Church of Christ."[1]

In the seventeenth century Lacey finds two reactions to this excessive emphasis on organization. There were those like Bramhall who distinguished between the internal and external communion of the Church, but regarded neither as organic or essential: "The unity of which we have heard Bramhall speaking might be the unity of essentially separate bodies, united in some sort of a complicated system of communication."[2] In rejecting this view, Lacey was rejecting the position taken by a great many sub-Tractarian ecumenists. He was more inclined to agree with the view represented by Pearson's An Exposition of the Creed. In this view, unity is a given fact of which "the moral unity of the Church is the expression more or less perfect, more or less visible, of her indefectible essential unity."[3] When Lacey speaks of organic unity he does not necessarily mean visible unity. That unity is the unity of life which flows beneath the cracked surface. He once likened the condition of the Church to a garment

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1. The Unity of the Church, p.72.
2. Ibid., p.83.
3. Ibid., p.99.

which is shredded, but still hangs together. Believing that the exclusive advocacy of one form of ecclesiastical structure endangered this understanding of the matter because it suggested that essential unity is broken, he rejected both the conciliar and papal theories: "The conciliar theory of the fifteenth century was no less foreign than the Papal theory to the essential constitution of the Church."[1] General councils certainly had an extraordinary function, "... but the holding of them is no more an argument of political unity in the Church, than the Treaty of Munster was a sign of all Europe being under one civil government."[2]

The difference between Lacey and the other men whom we have been considering was that whereas they believed that an inflexible structural unity witnessed to the essential unity in an uncompromising way, Lacey was afraid that an emphasis upon the organizational could, in fact, detract from the real unity. The visible unity was a moral necessity, the organic unity a natural fact; the two must not be confused. The organic unity does nevertheless have a certain relationship to the organizational forms of the Church: "This unity, being organic, depends upon a certain principle of life, which is the possession of the true faith

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1. Ibid., p.111.
2. Ibid.

and sacramental grace,"[1] and, "This unity, being social, depends upon the continuance of a certain order... The episcopate, in particular, is one solid indivisible order, and the individual Christian is held immovably in union with this whole order by communion with his own bishop."[2]

Lacey's Bishop Paddock Lectures for 1917 consider this question in its ecumenical context. The second chapter reiterates the warning that the unity of the Church must not be made to seem dependent upon the episcopal structure of the Church. He first discusses the means by which the Church secured its structural unity in the past. His treatment of this subject reveals a keener perception of history than is evident in many of Lacey's fellows. In the Primitive Church unity was secured by the apostolate: "... their travels, their visits, their constant supervision, the missions of their delegates, hold the scattered communities together in a social order."[3] In the second century - after the "tunnel" - the churches were held together by letters sent from bishops in one church to another church, such as the Ignatian letters. Ignatius had a theory of unity, but it only accounted for the unity of the local church around its bishop. There was no provision for a larger unity embracing a number of churches. There

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1. Ibid., p.153.
2. Ibid., p.154.
3. Unity and Schism, p.30.

is a suggestion in the writings of Tertullian and possibly Irenaeus, that such a unity was envisaged in an order of bishops, with Rome first, but there is no clear case. And while Cyprian too was primarily concerned with episcopal authority and local unity, he did "found incidently a doctrine concerning the relation of bishops to one another."[1] But the Cyprianic system did not solve the problem of schism either. Schism can be of two types: interal, in which a pseudo-episcopus is set up against the true bishop, and external, where a bishop or group of bishops break off relations of charity with others. Paul had predicted that there would always be some of the former, but he dealt severely with the latter. While the Cyprianic system could deal with the former, it could not prevent the latter: "It fails in the face of external schism. Bishops are human... Whole groups will be able to fly apart."[2] This system failed, and others like the patriarchal and national systems were devised to replace it, but they were also unsuccessful. Lacey was therefore critical of those who placed so much emphasis on the Cyprianic system as a normative and effective means of securing structural unity:

> "Ecclesiastical history is full of such schisms, which can be healed only by patience, and which

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1. Ibid., p.34.
2. Ibid., p.45.

> easily become inveterate. Those who take their stand upon the episcopal theory are driven to the subterfuge of disregarding these divisions. You may persuade yourself to be content with a branch theory which seeks the one Body of Christ in three or four different hierarchies, standing to each other, at the best, in a relation of polite aloofness. But it is not really satisfactory."[1]

Then he comes to his point. When speaking of the moral or organizational aspect of unity he can be extremely flexible:

> "On the high ground of theory you must allow that any effective way of maintaining apostolic unity will suffice; on the broad ground of history you must observe that the way in use, the episcopal way, has been subject to modification."[2]

And,

> "You must assume an apostolic origin for the institution of episcopacy [for other reasons], for no other account of it seems possible; but there is nothing to show that the Apostles made it irrevocably the one and only safeguard of unity. Neither Ignatius nor Cyprian seems to be acquainted with any such tradition; they took episcopacy as a fact of experience, and you must be content to do the same. It was an instrument of unity; if you try to make it the only possible instrument, fixed and indispensible, you will put more upon it than the tradition warrants."[3]

It must be emphasized that Lacey is here speaking of the secondary or organizational aspect of episcopacy. On this level the forms of the Church are in no sense fixed. He

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid., p.47.
3. Ibid., pp.47-48.

was even willing to accept as valid the comparison between the presbyterian and the Cyprianic forms:

> "The late Dr. Lindsay, in his book on the ministry in the early centuries, ingeniously applied ecclesiastical terms now current in Scotland, spoke of Cyprian calling together his 'Kirk-Session,' and did not forget the 'congregational meeting.' I think he was justified in this."[1]

Even the congregational pattern of the gathered church was not rejected by him - after all, was not the American Episcopal Church founded on that pattern? "The real unity of the Church is sacramental," he said, "I do not mean that it stands in this or that sacrament. The Church itself is the sacramentum unitatis."[2] In so far as the episcopate is a necessary aspect of that life it cannot be dispensed with, but the form that it takes in a church's polity must not be confused with that other function. Thus while in the end Lacey would agree with his fellow Anglo-Catholics in emphasizing the necessity of encorporating the episcopal principle of organic continutiy in any reunited Church, he was not similarly rigid in identifying that principle with a particular polity such as monepiscopacy.

I think it has become evident that the Anglo-Catholic understanding of the Church's structural unity followed the lines of development which we traced in the second chapter of this Thesis. The Tractarians, with their conception of

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1. Ibid., p.99.
2. Ibid., pp.156-157.

a fixed symbolic relationship between spiritual reality and the material world, naturally tended to regard the structural form of the God-given visible Church as equally fixed. It was a part of the once for all given revelation. These forms were supernatural in origin and therefore to tamper with them was a sacrilege. Since these men approached history uncritically it was not difficult for them to find Anglican order in the early Church, which they regarded as normative. And reunion could only be accomplished by accepting this form of organization. But even in Tractarian thought this God-given order was only the superstructure through which the essential unity of life in God was mediated. The apostolic succession and the threefold order of bishop, priest, and deacon were only the necessary conditions of a sacramental unity which flowed through them.

The Liberal Catholics, with their view of the moral relationship between the visible form of the Christian society and the essential unity of the Godhead, could be more flexible with respect to organization, especially if, like Lacey, they sat loose upon the static presuppositions of the main stream of Anglo-Catholicism. The reunited Church must express the essential unity, and it must maintain the existing organic unity of the Body of Christ. Theoretically both ends could be realized in any polity which emphasized order and maintained a succession through

the apostolic commission and the sacramental rite of the laying-on of hands. As a matter of fact, however, it was virtually impossible for any polity other than the episcopalian polity to meet these requirements. The following are the primary reasons for this seeming discrepancy between theory and fact. (a) As a matter of history the organic life of the Church, secured by the possession of the apostolic commission, had been perpetuated through the episcopalian system as it now existed in the Catholic churches, and those communions which adopted different polities in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did not perpetuate either the Catholic idea of commission or the fact in their successive ordinations. Therefore the Presbyterian claim to an apostolic ministry failed not because presbyterianism as a polity was incompatible with the idea of a Catholic ministry or because the succession had been broken, but because they had failed to maintain the commission which alone secured the validity of the sacraments. The fact that the emergence of episcopacy as the vehicle of this life and commission may have been accidental, rather than part of a detailed divine plan delivered to the Apostles through Christ as many Tractarians thought, in no way alters these facts. (b) The episcopate alone has been maintained in close association with this view of the ministry, therefore it has the advantage of making an

unambiguous witness to these principles of unity. It would be extremely dangerous to Catholic religion to establish the reunited Church on the basis of a modern polity with its associations with erroneous, if not heretical, views of the Church. (c) The episcopate is the best expression of sacramental religion and the dual relationship of God with His Body, the transcendent and the immanent. (d) Only the episcopate, in a conciliar structure, can adequately express in a practical way the unity of the whole Church. There are many other reasons given in Anglo-Catholic writing on the subject, but these are probably the most important.

I have also tried to show that there was no general agreement among Anglo-Catholics as to the detailed organization of the structure within which the episcopal succession must be preserved. By the early twentieth century there was a wide variety of opinion on this, ranging from a rigid advocacy of the threefold order within a Cyprianic conciliarism, through the suggestion of a constitutional papacy, to the rather loose system advocated by Weston, Woods, and Smith, in which a validly consecrated bishop would be imposed on polities which in other respects were totally dissimilar. In other words, Anglo-Catholics were generally agreed on principle - the principle of continuity of life and authority, - but not on the degree of variation from the traditional polities

of the Catholic Church which would be consistent with the preservation of Catholic life and truth. Applying the principle of tutiorism, the result was that they tended to favor that form of polity which had been so long practiced in the Catholic Church, the monepiscopacy, as being the most secure.

Chapter V: Sacramental Unity

Our discussion of both the relationship between the spiritual and material realities, and the forms by which the organic unity of the Church is preserved, has made it evident that the sacramental system is the most important element in the Anglo-Catholic ecumenical theology. Through this system the individual or the community is brought within the essential unity of the Godhead, and in the common sacramental life the seemingly fragmented body is, in fact, organically one. The external forms of dogma and structure have little real meaning except as the means by which this life is made continuous through time and space. It was only by making the sacramental life the essence of Catholic churchmanship that Anglo-Catholics could resolve the inconsistencies of their position with respect to the necessary dogmatic and structural forms. There could be a variety of opinion on these matters because they only had a secondary, if necessary, relationship to the sacraments. In the sacramental life all ecclesiastical and rational uncertainties are transcended. It therefore follows that the sacramental system alone can connect the life of the visible Church with the essential unity of life in God.

The Oxford Movement was not born with a fully developed sacramentalism however. It had a world view influenced partly by Romanticism, partly by a form of neo-Platonism, which could be, and was, easily developed

into a conscious emphasis upon sacraments; a piety that easily appropriated the devotional values of sacraments like confession and penance, as well as the mass; and a polemic with Liberalism, which involved certain sacramental doctrines such as baptismal regeneration and the real presence. But Tractarianism did not develop a theological and devotional system in which the sacraments were even the primary elements in ordinary Christian life. G. B. Roberts rightly describes the development of such a system as a gradual process:

> "The sober preaching of repentance and of an exalted standard of spiritual life, which marked the rise of the Tractarian party and differentiated it from the more emotional appeal of predecessors of another school, led men to seek some less precarious support in the spiritual life than that which passing emotion can afford: and as Churchmen earnestly studied the neglected pages of the Prayer Book, the true and exalted position attributed by the Church to the sacramental system, as the basis and sustaining power of the spiritual life, gradually dawned upon them."[1]

This connection between sacraments and devotion is significant, because the systematization of sacramental doctrine within Anglo-Catholicism was motivated by sacramental experience, not theological logic. And just because this emphasis on sacramental experience brought them perilously close to the subjectivism which they so strongly repudiated in Evangelicalism and Liberalism, Anglo-Catholics usually

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1. English Church Union, p.4.

insisted upon a necessary relationship between the sacraments and a static, objective, ecclesiology. Y. Brilioth feels that the assertion of this relationship was the "tragedy of later Neo-Anglicanism":

> "The Sacramental idea of the Church, in itself capable of a wide and fruitful development, is locked fast by its combination with the static view. As far as the Sacramental idea became the centre of gravity, guarantees for the validity of the sacraments were bound to get ever-increasing importance. And when the means of testing the validity were provided by the static theory, above all by the doctrine of Apostolic Succession, this theory tended to become a suffocating snare, drawn even tighter in proportion to the vigour and intensity of religious life."[1]

Froude's Remains often make reference to the eucharist, but these references were usually simply a part of his polemic against Protestantism and Rationalism, not statements of an essentially sacramental understanding of Christian life. But there can be no doubt that, for Froude, the altar and the eucharist symbolized the Catholic religion. He often contrasted these symbols with those of the Protestantism with which he was familiar - the pulpit and the sermon. In a letter to a clergyman friend he made the following characteristic suggestion:

> "If you are determined to have a pulpit in your church, which I would rather be without, do put it at the West end of the church, or leave it where it is [at the side?]: every one can hear you perfectly; and what can they want more? But

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1. Anglican Revival, p.329.

> whatever you do, pray don't let it stand in the light of the Altar, which, if there is any truth in my notions of Ordination, is more sacred than the Holy of Hollies was in the Jewish Temple."[1]

He thought that the efficacy of the ordinance of preaching was too dependent upon the experience of the recipient. The sacraments, on the other hand, provided an objective point of reference:

> "... the beneficial efficacy of Sacraments will be admitted... to belong to them because they are Sacraments [instituted by God for the express purpose of benefiting us]; not because they are strikingly or impressively administered ... the effects of Sacraments may be judged of, not by their nature or tendency only, but by the promises of Scripture: their proper proof is not Experience but Faith."[2]

Though there is no systematic treatment of the subject in the Remains, it is evident what while Froude's eucharistic doctrine was high, he did not hold anything like a theory of transubstantiation. His writings do reveal a tendency towards the later Ritualist development, in that he was very much interested in the arrangements of the church, the

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1. Remains, Part I, Vol. I, p.372. Of the pre-Tractarians, Morse-Boycott said: "The true conception of a church as, in reality, the shrine of the Altar and its protection, was lost." They Shine Like Stars, p.14.
2. Remains, Part II, Vol. I, p.10. Froude was so repelled by what he considered the moral irresponsibility of Protestant sacramental doctrine that he refused even to use the words they used: "I never mean, if I can help it, to use any phrases even, which can connect me with such a set. I shall never call the Holy Eucharist 'the Lord's Supper,' or the Altar 'the Lord's table,' etc., etc.; innocent as such phrases are in themselves, they have been dirtied." Ibid., Part I, Vol. I, pp.394-395.

ceremonial position of the priest, etc., and he did advocate more frequent celebration of the eucharist, but he did not believe that such matters constituted the only significant definition of Catholic religion.

However much men like Froude venerated the eucharist and its ceremonial embodiment, it is not accurate to say, with Elie Halevy, that for the Tractarians "the centre of the Christian religion is the Eucharist."[1] There is even substantial evidence to support the suggestion that eucharistic doctrine was not so important as baptismal doctrine during the early stages of the Movement. The extremely personal character of the Tractarian piety encouraged experimentation with a wide variety of devotional devices, only one of which was the use of eucharistic meditations. Through these various devices the grace infused at baptism was sustained. One of the reasons for a far greater emphasis upon baptism in Tractarianism was, of course, that in the theological climate of the 1830's the very idea of baptismal regeneration had been repudiated. The whole Tractarian system, with its conception of infused grace,[2] therefore depended upon the establishment of that

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1. Quoted in Peck, Social Implications (p.41), from History of the English People, Vol. III, p.150. It is quite possible, of course, that Halevy was using the word Tractarian in a wider sense - including the sub-Tractarian Ritualists. If this is the case, he would be at least partly correct.
2. Cf., Ch. II, above, p.170ff.

doctrine. This helps account for the fact that in some Tractarian thought, notably Pusey's, the eucharist was not clearly distinguished from other forms of post-baptismal sustenance.

As early as 1825, Newman recognized the importance of the baptismal issue:

> "... he had reached the point of deciding that 'the great stand is to be made, not against those who connect a spiritual change with baptism, but those who deny a spiritual change altogether.' Regeneration, whether it comes by baptism or by conversion or by whatever means, must mean what it said and not be explained into 'a mere opening of new prospects, when the old score of offenses is wiped away, and a person is for the second time put, as it were, on his good behaviour.'"[1]

In the seventy-sixth Tract, Newman explains what he means by baptismal regeneration. The sacrament of baptism is not a mere sign or promise, but an actual means of grace, "an instrument, by which, when rightly received, the soul is admitted to the benefits of Christ's Atonement, such as the forgiveness of sins, original and actual, reconciliation to God, a new nature, adoption, citizenship in Christ's Kingdom, and inheritance of heaven, - in a word, Regeneration."[2] "Rightly received," he continues, refers to the absence of hindrances such as impenitence and unbelief, and therefore can be rightly applied to infants.

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1. Faber, Oxford Apostles, p.155.
2. "Catena Patrum. No. II. Testimony of Writers in the Later English Church to the Doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration," Tracts, Vol. III, p.1.

But the most interesting thing about this Tract, which was written in 1836, is the list of questions with which Newman says the Catena will not deal, because there is no agreement upon the answers. The third question is the most important for our present purpose, because it shows that Tractarians were not yet certain of the precise relationship between baptism and the eucharist. Baptism washes away past sin, but, the question asks, does repentance, simply, or the eucharist deal with post-baptismal sins, or is the full absolution of that sin put off till the last judgment? This was, as we shall see, a question not clearly answered even in Pusey's extensive discussion of baptismal doctrine. There was no such ambiguity in Newman's conception of baptism itself. In Brilioth's discussion of Newman's doctrine of justification, the significance of baptism is clearly evident:

> "This is the very pith of the matter: justification consists in a something, a quality, a substance, which comes into and changes man, and makes him acceptable... This is the proper gift of justification, the entrance into and presence in the soul of the Holy Ghost. This, to become thus the temple of the Holy Ghost, must involve recreation, a raising out of a state of nature to a state of grace, and this must bear fruit in holiness and obedience. But the presence of the Spirit is only a form or means of the Presence of Christ; it is the Spirit which makes Him present in us, and adapts Christ's work to us. 'Christ then is our Righteousness by dwelling in us by the Spirit; He justifies us by entering into us... This is really and truly our justification, not faith, not holiness, not (much less) mere imputation, but through God's mercy, the very Presence of Christ.'

> "This way of thinking opens the gate to sacramental mysticism; it is the sacraments which impart this presence of Christ, they are therefore means of our justification. This happens first in Baptism, but, 'as Holy Communion conveys a more awful presence of God than Holy Baptism, so it must be the instrument of a higher Justification.' The Sacrament is 'a grafting invisibly into the Body of Christ, a mysterious union with Him, and a fellowship in all the grace and blessedness which is hidden in Him..."[1]

The later sacrament leans heavily upon the earlier, but it is important to note that Newman suggests that the Holy Communion "conveys a more awful presence" than baptism, and therefore a higher justification. While Newman would not accept the Protestant criticism that he was confusing justification with sanctification, he would have to admit that the most important point in the sacramental system is that point at which the individual is prepared, through regeneration, to receive the gift of substantial grace. And the presence of Christ himself is certainly not subject to quantitative analysis. The fact of the matter is that by Christ's presence Newman really meant the divine attribute of spiritual power which is given in the sacraments. It is in this sense that he defines justification in terms of indwelling: "Thus justification becomes the act whereby man, in ever-increasing measure, appropriates the nature of God, the act also whereby God actively enters into, infuses

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1. Anglican Revival, p.286.

Himself into man, and draws him upwards."[1]

The importance of baptismal doctrine to the Tractarians is nowhere so evident as in Pusey's writing on the subject. His three Tracts on baptism (Numbers 67, 68, and 69) were intended to comprehend the whole Tractarian theological system. In the words of the advertisement to the second volume of Tracts, they were designed "not as an inquiry into a single or isolated doctrine, but as a delineation and serious examination of a modern system of theology, of extensive popularity and great speciousness, in its elementary and characteristic principles."[2] It was evident that Pusey believed that Rationalism could be met with a theological system in which baptism was central. In his Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury (1842), Pusey expressed his regret that the baptismal doctrine put forward in those Tracts had not been related to other important elements in the Christian life - principally the "comforting power of Absolution or the pardoning grace in the Holy Eucharist,"[3] - but nevertheless maintained its essential

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1. Ibid., p.288.
2. Quoted in Church, Oxford Movement (3rd. ed., 1897), p. 136. These Tracts were a complete departure from the form and style of the earlier ones: "The Tract on Baptism was like the advance of a battery of heavy artillery on a field where the battle has been hitherto carried on by skirmishing and musketry. It altered the look of things and the condition of the fighting. After No. 67 the earlier form of the Tracts appeared no more." Ibid.
3. Letter to Canterbury, p.92.

truth: "What I wrote, I hope that with deepening years I hold more deeply; and day by day shews me how needful the doctrine [of baptismal regeneration] is for these times, that without it there can be no thorough restoration of our Church, nor high standard of holiness."[1] The coupling of absolution with the eucharist in this instance is significant in so far as it shows that the eucharist was still simply regarded as one among other "Comforts to the Penitent,"[2] and not, certainly, the center around which all other aids to the religious life turned. In this same letter, Pusey says that his Letter to the Bishop of Oxford contains a more balanced statement. We will therefore turn to the relevant portions of that document for what Pusey himself believed to be a fair statement of his theology.

In that letter his baptismal doctrine is discussed in relation to various of the Thirty-Nine Articles. Like Newman, he begins with the relationship between baptism and justification. While the eleventh article is often cited in defense of the Protestant doctrine of justification by faith alone, Pusey believed that all it really said was that our salvation is dependent upon the merits of Christ alone. And faith, he suggests, is not the only channel whereby the merits of Christ "are conveyed to the soul to its

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1. Ibid.
2. From the title of Pusey's controversial sermon on the eucharist delivered in May, 1843.

justification."[1] Faith is the inward instrument, and sacraments (in this case baptism) are the outward instruments in justification: "There is nothing inconsistent, then, in Faith being the sole instrument of justification, and yet Baptism also the sole instrument, and that at the same time, because in distinct senses; an inward instrument in no way interfering with an outward instrument."[2] "And," he continues, "this connection of Justification with Baptism, so far from being at variance with the homily to which the Article refers, and which men do quote on behalf of their contrary view, is implied by its very outset."[3] It is obvious from Pusey's treatment of the subject even here that baptism is still the principal sacrament. He discusses and rejects both the Roman and the Lutheran view of justification: the former because it confuses justification and sanctification, and the latter because it conceives of justification as being imputed only, and not "the act of God imparting His Divine Presence to the soul, through Baptism."[4]

Turning to the sixteenth article on post-baptismal sin, Pusey against states his conviction that the Articles were designed to repudiate current errors, not to put forward a positive system of theology. In this case the

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1. Letter to Oxford, p.63.
2. Ibid., p.66.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p.70.

errors were: (a) that man cannot sin after baptism, and (b) that there is no forgiveness for those who truly repent. Here the question turns upon the relationship between forgiveness and responsibility. Pusey can neither agree with the Protestant who says that repentance evokes a complete forgiveness of sin, nor the Roman who claims that the sacraments of penance, confirmation, and the eucharist have a similar effect. Only baptism can do this. Post-baptismal sin can never be so completely forgiven as to remove personal responsibility for it. The suggestion that it can be removed is fundamentally immoral:

> "This appears to me then the characteristic difference of the three systems; Romanism as well as Ultra-Protestantism would consult readily for man's feverish anxiety to be altogether at ease; our Church sets him in the way in which God's peace may descend upon him, but forestalls not His sentence."[1]

The result of the Roman and Protestant position is that,

> "The penitent, untimely delivered from his distress, loses the energy of repentance, and the hatred of sin, which God was annealing into his soul, and becomes a common-place and a sickly Christian."[2]

In other words, one must live with a continual sense of guilt since there is no real absolution beyond baptism, only the hope of forgiveness in heaven. Within Pusey's system there are only two points of absolute renewal: baptism and the last judgment. Only at these points can

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1. Ibid., pp.92-93.
2. Ibid., p.96.

there be a real change in the status of the individual before God. Anything that comes in between is of secondary importance - however necessary.

The subordination of the eucharist to baptism is also evident in Pusey's discussion of the twenty-fifth article on the sacraments. There are only two sacraments of union or indwelling, baptism and the eucharist: "Other rites may be and are means of grace, but no other than the Sacraments of our Lord are means of direct union with Him."[1] In this discussion Pusey does say that the eucharist cleanses the recipient,[2] but it is only at baptism and the last judgment that there is absolute cleansing.[3] This emphasis upon baptism is nowhere more evident than when Pusey is criticizing the disproportionate emphasis upon the eucharist in Roman thought and practice:

> "She [Rome] insists indeed on its [baptism's] necessity, and there leaves it. This is the very coldest way in which it could have been spoken of; she enlarges not on the gifts bestowed through it, on the Presence of our Lord thereat; on His communicating Himself to the soul, or His applying His own most precious Blood, thereby; or on the sacred Presence of the Holy Ghost the Comforter, and His thenceforth making the baptized His temple unless He be grieved away. These blessed truths she rather casts into the shade, though she does not deny them: in her anxiety to secure a peculiar Presence of our Lord in the Holy Eucharist, she rather conceals, and is un-

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1. Ibid., p.104.
2. Ibid., p.127.
3. Ibid., p.93.

> willing to dwell on, His Sacred Presence in this Sacrament, whereby He makes us members of Himself: in her wish to vindicate the equality and dignity of her other Sacraments, as Sacraments, she is obliged to disguise that which constitutes the peculiar greatness of the two proper Sacraments,-the union with and Presence of our Lord, - and vindicates it in one carnal way."[1]

Brilioth feels that the association of both sacraments with the idea of divine presence was bound to result in a greater practical emphasis upon that sacrament in which that presence was continually renewed and strengthened, rather than upon that which was tied to the past: "... the spiritual food of the Eucharist strengthened the pilgrim of progressive piety at every step of his journey."[2] Therefore, says Brilioth, Pusey himself contributed to the later emphasis upon the eucharist: "It is Pusey's piety which, dominated as it is by the thought of a divine influx and the divine indwelling, becomes the field in which Sacramentalism attached to the Eucharist springs up and flourishes."[3] To say that baptism is the crucial agent in Pusey's understanding of justification is not to suggest that the eucharist was not important to him. As Liddon has said, Pusey was not willing to compromise any part of the sacramental system:

> "Pusey never liked controversy for controversy's sake, nor indeed was it as a mere theory that he

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1. Ibid., p.114.
2. Anglican Revival, p.314.
3. Ibid., p.318.

> was anxious to defend the Sacramental system. If he loved and defended it, it was because he believed that it was the appointed way for restoring men to their true relation to God, and for enabling them with Divine aid to develop the fullness of the Christian character. It was this desire, in one word, 'to save souls,' that actuated him in incurring so much obloquy and enduring this long struggle."[1]

In his piety there was no question of subordination. Nevertheless the systematic subordination of the eucharist must be understood in order to come to terms with certain difficulties in later Anglo-Catholic thought.

In so far as the eucharist itself was concerned, Pusey always emphasized both its sacrificial and communicative aspects. In the eighty-first Tract he says:

> "The Eucharist then, according to them [writers of the Later English Church], consisted of two parts, a 'commemorative sacrifice' and a 'Communion' or Communication; the former obtaining remission of sins for the Church; the Communion 'the strengthening and refreshing of the soul,' although, inasmuch as it united the believer with Christ, it indirectly conveyed remission of sins too."[2]

The sacrifice pointed to something entirely beyond the present act: "They first offered to God His gifts, in commemoration of His inestimable gift, and placed them upon His altar here, to be received and presented on the Heavenly Altar by Him, our High-Priest."[3] Since this

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1. Liddon, Life, Vol. III, p.vii.
2. "Catena Patrum. No. IV. Testimony of Writers of the Later English Church to the Doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, with an Historical Account of the Changes made in the Liturgy as to the Expression of that Doctrine," Tracts, Vol. IV, p.6.
3. Ibid.

thus secured a benefit for all Christian people - not just the communicants, - it was a bond of union between them. But the conception of communion - the feast upon the sacrifice - was also necessary to the rite. The sacrifice is given to God, and then received back as the life-giving body and blood. Tractarian and Ritualistic interest in the revival of the mass without a communicating congregation was not encouraged by Pusey - in so far as it represented an emphasis upon the sacrifice at the expense of communion. He was never happy with the sub-Tractarian advocacy of indiscriminate reservation and extra-liturgical devotions for similar reasons, and he often had to bring zealous, if not theologically sound, disciples "into line" in controversies involving eucharistic doctrine.

Despite the reservations of the old Tractarians, by the early twentieth century Anglo-Catholicism had come to place an extraordinary emphasis upon eucharistic doctrine. Writing in 1915, Clifton Kelway thus describes the rite's significance in the Movement:

> "We are happily familiar now with the solemn ceremonies which surround the Celebration of the Holy Eucharist, when the offering of the Lord's own Service with all the glory and dignity that we can command is made day by day in thousands of beautiful sanctuaries throughout the whole of the Anglican Communion. We have, however, altogether failed to appreciate the true inwardness of the Catholic Revival if we have not grasped the fact that it is this Service, and all that we believe concerning it, which is at once

> the inspiration and the centre of the Movement."[1]

And,

> "The ground of battle may have shifted as this or that 'point' was attacked - Baptismal Regeneration, the Church's Marriage Law, the Doctrine of Absolution, the Athanasian Creed, the use of those Ornaments and Vestments which are ours by virtue of our Catholicity, or even (as to-day) the necessity of the Apostolic Succession in our midst, without which we could be no part of the true Church. But whatever the point may be, it is in its relation to the Holy Sacrament of the Altar that its importance lies. In this we find both the root and fruit of the Movement which we have been considering."[2]

During the Tractarian Movement itself, the tendency to Ritualism evident in the younger men at the University was kept in check by Newman and Pusey, who felt that undue emphasis upon externals would arouse unnecessary controversy. But after 1845 the Movement left the University and, therefore, the control of its leaders. In parishes throughout the land, young men began to stake their existence within the English Church on their right to wear certain vestments, adopt certain rituals, and practice Catholic ceremonial. In 1849 a young priest, George Rundle Prynne, was the first to revive the practice of daily celebration - at the request of the newly established Devonport Community during the cholera epidemic of that year. Of this event Kelway says: "It was quite fitting

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1. Catholic Revival, pp.109-110.
2. Ibid., p.110.

that the great privilege of bringing about its restoration should be Prynne's, for to him it may be said with truth, the Blessed Sacrament was everything."[1] Most of the controversy between the Protestant and Catholic factions of the Church of England in the sub-Tractarian period involved this sacrament in one way or another. It began in 1854, when G. A. Denison was denounced by a fellow clergyman for preaching a course of sermons in Wells Cathedral "in which he maintained that the Body and Blood of Christ are really present in the consecrated elements of bread and wine, independently of reception by the communicant; and should therefore be worshipped."[2]

However much Ritualism was the center of controversy in the sub-Tractarian period, it is inaccurate to include the whole Anglo-Catholic Movement within that development. There were many leaders - men like Pusey, Perceval, and Keble, not to mention Palmer and Hook - who opposed this development. It injected the alien elements of outward display and loud clamoring for "rights" into the introspective quietude of Tractarian piety. But while there was this difference, the essential doctrinal presuppositions were similar. W. L. Knox thus describes the difference

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1. Ibid., p.52.
2. Morse-Boycott, They Shine Like Stars, p.190. This controversy produced three important works on the subject: J. Keble, On Eucharistic Adoration; E. B. Pusey, The Real Presence in the Fathers, and The Real Presence.

between the Ritualist or "parish" expression of the Movement, and the early more intellectual period:

> "The Movement did not change its character; it was still firmly founded on Catholic doctrine and Catholic holiness; but it began to restore the accessories of Catholic worship as the natural and inevitable means for expressing and fostering the devotion of those who would have been but little influenced by its intellectual appeal in the form of oral teaching."[1]

The primary doctrine thus taught was that of the real presence:

> "It must always be remembered that these points were demanded or opposed not on the ground that they were pleasing or unpleasing, but on the ground that they were symbols of the doctrines of the presence of Our Lord under the outward appearance of bread and wine and the Eucharistic sacrifice..."[2]

Morse-Boycott also describes the Ritualist Movement as a ceremonial expression of Tractarian eucharistic doctrine. Ritualist practice is described in terms of a quotation from Pusey's The Real Presence in the Fathers:

> "'Righteous art Thou, O Lord, and all Thy words are truth. Thou hast said, "This is My Body," "This is My Blood." Hast Thou said, and shalt not Thou do it? As Thou hast said, so we believe.' Such has been the quiet answer of innumerable champions of the Blessed Sacrament, from that day; such the grounds of what the world has termed their obstinacy; their 'obsession' with such 'needless tinsel' as candles and crucifixes; unleavened wafers in place of baker's yeasted bread, and the admixture of water and wine in the chalice; the discipline of fasting Communion; the wearing

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1. The Catholic Movement, p.218.
2. Ibid., p.220.

> of 'ecclesiastical millinery,' as vestments have been scornfully called; and the use of incense, which within recent memory one of the more Catholic of Bishops permitted to be swung sideways before the Blessed Sacrament, but not towards it! It is all of one piece, a desire to honour the Real Presence of Christ in the Catholic way, and declare it with unmistakable symbols."[1]

But there were also different degrees of doctrinal development within the Movement. As the eucharist became both the ceremonial symbol and the doctrinal center of Anglo-Catholicism, there was a tendency to move towards the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation. An example of this tendency is provided in the Bennett trial. The Tractarians had always resisted any attempt to define the nature of the real presence - preferring to say with Keble,

> "Enough, I eat His Flesh and drink His Blood,
> More is not told - to ask is not good."[2]

To say more than this about the sacramental mystery was impossible. But Bennett moved beyond this reverent agnosticism. Writing in 1867 he thus described the Ritualist vestments, and the doctrine they proclaimed: "... now the ancient vestments present to crowds of worshippers the fact that before God's Altar is something far higher, far more awful, more mysterious than aught

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1. They Shine Like Stars, p.191.
2. Quoted in Faber, Oxford Apostles (p.99), from Lyra Apostolica. Faber's own opinion of the verse is something less than enthusiastic. It is, he said, "surely one of the worst ever written." Ibid.

that man can speak of, namely, the Presence of the Son of God in human flesh subsisting."[1] Not long after this Bennett was brought to trial for arguing that "the real, actual, and visible Presence of the Lord upon the Altars of our Churches," justified the use of extra-liturgical devotions. Pusey saw the dangers involved in this position, and "persuaded" Bennett to alter his statement to read, "the real actual Presence of our Lord under the form of bread and wine, upon the altar, Who [as distinguished from the consecrated elements] was to be adored."[2] The effect of this "revision" was, of course, to change the whole position. When he had made these changes Bennett was acquitted. This is a valuable example of the way in which Ritualism often carried its exponents into theological extremes for ceremonial rather than theological reasons. During his lifetime Pusey often found it necessary to intervene in such cases.

The Protestant resistance to these developments was strong, and the reasons for it various. For many, Ritualism represented a Romeward movement that had to be checked before it was too late; for others, as W. L. Knox suggests, the Catholic piety of the Movement, nowhere so evident as in its eucharistic practice, was repulsive; and others, a

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1. "Some Results of the Tractarian Movement," in Shipley, Church and the World (1867), p.13.
2. Morse-Boycott, They Shine Like Stars, p.199.

writer in the Union Review says, were simply unable to comprehend the Anglo-Catholic religious philosophy - and if his statement of that philosophy is typical, it is no wonder:

> "[The Protestant] cannot conceive of union between man and Incarnate God, which shall be as close as that which exists between the Father and the Son; and that that union should be daily perfected by the Eternal Son in the person of His priest, joining His Body and Soul and Divinity to the body, soul, and spirit [i.e., divinity] of man, - this is a privilege of which he never dreams. He is content to be but a servant, where he might be a son... Sonship to him conveys only an idea of adoption, and he does not perceive that it involves a transfer of nature, and not merely an influencing power of grace and change of relative position. 'God became man, that men might be gods'... Let the Protestant once realize this idea, and the whole Catholic system of the Priesthood and Sacraments becomes necessary for the transmission of Divinity to man, and every Catholic doctrine arranges itself into its place in the glorious circle, whose centre is the Incarnation of God."[1]

It was not until the Lux Mundi school broke the Ritualist hold upon Anglo-Catholicism, that the Movement could develop a strong, consistent, and distinctive sacramental doctrine. And it was only then that sacramental doctrine could be brought to the Movement's ecumenical theology in a constructive way. In this context the relationship between sacramental doctrine and ecclesiology is the primary consideration. The Tractarians, and their

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1. Union Review (Nov., 1863), p.516. Underlining mine. This article was probably written by F. G. Lee, but I have no direct evidence of its authorship.

disciples in the sub-Tractarian period, really had only one definition of the Church: it was the ordinary vehicle of saving grace, identified by the Catholic forms of dogma and structure. While members of other Christian bodies could receive saving grace, it was extraordinary grace and they were "unchurched." This is a generalization, but by and large an accurate one. Since the sacramental system was the essence of the Church's life and the Tractarians were reluctant to admit sacramental life in non-Catholic bodies, sacramental doctrine could not be applied to a reunionism which involved such bodies. One of the obvious difficulties with this definition of the Church was that it forced its advocates to adopt a decidedly un-Catholic doctrine of baptism. This was the theological problem implicit in Pusey's emphasis on baptism. So long as Anglo-Catholics only defined the Church in one way they were forced to say that only that Church's baptism was fully valid. The Liberal Catholics cut this Gordian knot with their double definition of the Church. There was both an extensive and an intensive Church.[1] And the two Gospel sacraments had a special relationship to these two entities. All Christians were members, by baptism, of the extensive Church. The fact of baptism was sufficient. But only those

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1. Sometimes, as in the Lambeth Appeal, the terms Universal and Catholic were used to distinguish between the two.

Christian bodies that possessed a valid commission to consecrate the eucharist belonged to the intensive Church.

An equally important distinction between Tractarian and Liberal Catholic sacramental thought, in so far as its application to ecumenical theology is concerned, was the development, in the latter, of a corporate conception of salvation. So long as the sacraments were simply regarded as the means by which the individual was brought into the unity of the Godhead, they could not have any significant relationship to Christian reunion - except as a note of true catholicity. The Liberal Catholic conception of the Church as the realm in which men form a significant relationship with each other as well as with God, involved a social interpretation of the sacraments. They were therefore regarded as having an important function in the task of reconciling man with man. As Gore put it:

> "What are sacraments? They are outward, visible and also social, ceremonies intended for the conveyance of spiritual gifts... we can conceive of their having been given through purely invisible channels; in fact, they are given by channels which, as I say, are not only visible, but also social."[1]

The sacramental gift is related not only to communion with God, but to the whole life and needs of the community - "to carry into all departments of human life and all regions of the earth His gospel of human redemption and human

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1. The Mission of the Church, p. 9.

fellowship."[1] In this sense, Gore could find meaning in the five lesser, as well as the two greater, sacraments. Speaking of the churchman he says:

> "He sees everywhere in history this Catholic Church with its ringing faith, with its glorious saints, with its rich cycle of sacramental rites - baptism and confirmation, eucharist and penance, matrimony and Holy Orders, and the unction of the sick - encompassing a man's life from the cradle to the grave and meeting it at every turn with the divine remedy for its varying needs."[2]

In the ecumenical theology of H. N. Kelly we find the application of this new sacramental thought. Assuming that the reunited Church will incorporate the values of each of the merging traditions, Kelly says that the Catholic contribution must be the sacramental principle. This principle has a general reference to the sacramental character of nature and history - particularly the Biblical history of which the Incarnation was the climax, - but it also has a particular reference in the Church sacraments. Kelly's statement of the latter aspect of the sacramental principle has much in common with Pusey's sacramental doctrine: "... in the sacraments Christ draws the individuals one by one, making them in baptism by His act to be His members, and then feeding them day by day with that one gift of God which is the communion of Himself, of

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1. Anglo-Catholic Movement, p.25.
2. Ibid., pp.25-26.

His own body and His own blood."[1] In the context of his ecclesiology, this is not a reference to individual mystical union with Christ, but to membership in His Body, the Church. What Kelly is emphasizing here is that the sacraments witness to the "other," the "given" in Christianity. Like the Tractarians, he also tends, when dealing with the sacramental principle in the abstract, to relate sacraments to Church order. This is an inevitable consequence of the social conception of sacrament: "To the redeemed God is made known, and He is made known because He redeemed. So also Order and Sacraments are one, for it is One Will of God working outwards to men and human society, which work by drawing men in to God."[2] The social and material facts must precede individual response: "We do not acquire sonship by love; we learn to love because we have been made sons."[3] Because the sacramental unity is the organic unity of the Church, rather than the mystical unity with the Godhead, as in Pusey, Kelly's sacramentalism can be usefully related to ecumenics. The corporate and social dimension of the sacramental unity is evident in the following passage:

> "We believe that in the Sacrament of the Holy Communion, Christ has provided for us in the fulfilment of His promise a representation of Himself, a true renewal to us day by day of the

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1. Church and Religious Unity, pp.66-67.
2. Ibid., p.67.
3. Ibid., p.69.

> Bodily Presence of His spiritual Humanity, that which suffered and is now ascended and glorified, in order that we, partaking of the Humanity thus given, might enter into that union of the earthly and spiritual which was the redemption manifested in the Body of His Resurrection."[1]

This is very similar to Weston's idea of divine humanity.[2] Through his incorporation in this "earthly and spiritual" unity, man comes to know God. Without it there is no certain knowledge. This position is based upon the following presuppositions:

> (1) "While we recognise God as operating in all things, we cannot identify God with His operations, neither severally nor as a whole."[3]
>
> (2) "While therefore we rejoice to trace God's work in nature, we recognise how impossible it is for man, by means of inference from actual experience and within the limitations of his capacity, to reach to knowledge of God Himself."[4]
>
> (3) "From this darkness of heathenism, from what is purely natural and human, a way of escape which we could neither find nor make has been given to us through the Revelation of Jesus Christ, the Only-Begotten Son of God."[5]

This principle, which is the principle of the Incarnation, is then applied to the Church - or more properly to the sacraments. The sacraments provide the continuing objective reference and vehicle of revelation. In them the objective presence of Christ continues to reveal God to man. Much

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1. Ibid., p.76.
2. Cf., above, Ch. II, p.190ff.
3. Ibid., p.84.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.

more than the author intended is revealed in the analogy he uses to explain the significance of the sacramental presence. When a child calls for its mother, he says, it will be of no use simply to tell it that the mother is near: "The child can only explain itself by saying, 'I want to put my arms round her, and I want her to kiss me.' I cannot explain myself except by saying, 'I want Christ here to worship Him.'"[1] Here the effect of the Ritualist emphasis upon the altar and the objective presence is quite evident. The sacraments now serve religious "wants" or "needs" rather than simply the end of mystical absorption. The Tractarians would have said the same thing in the end, but they would have placed more emphasis upon the latter.

These factors in the Anglo-Catholic sacramentalism - the initial systematic dominance of baptismal doctrine, the more subjective Ritualistic emphasis upon the eucharist, the development of a "two Church" theory, and the eventual development of the idea that the sacraments bring Christians into a reconciling relationship with each other as well as with God - are the context within which the Movement worked out its ecumenical theology.

From our point of view, the most important Tract in the whole series of ninety is probably number four, by John Keble. Entitled "Adherence to the Apostolical

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1. Ibid., p.100.

Succession the Safest Course," it is the earliest Tractarian treatment of the presuppositions upon which most Anglo-Catholic ecumenical theology was built. The title itself anticipates a long line of Anglican ecumenists who, while not caring to pass absolute judgment upon other Christian bodies, were guided, in matters that involved their own Church, by the principal of tutiorism. In brief, this principle can be described as follows: when the Scriptures are not clear follow the interpretation adopted by the majority, or the interpretation which, if it errs at all, errs on the conservative side. In the Tractarian days this principle was primarily applied to internal affairs, but by the early twentieth century it was consistently applied to the question of Christian reunion - at least where sacraments and orders were concerned. Keble uses it in the following manner:

> "Their [the Fathers of the Primitive Church] principle, in short, was this: that the Holy Feast on our Saviour's sacrifice, which all confess to be 'generally necessary to salvation,' was intended by Him to be constantly conveyed through the hands of commissioned persons. Except therefore we can show such a warrant, we cannot be sure that our hands convey the sacrifice; we cannot be sure that souls worthily prepared, receiving the bread which we break, and the cup of blessing which we bless, are partakers of the Body and Blood of Christ. Piety, then, and Christian Reverence, and sincere, devout love of our Redeemer, nay, and Charity to the souls of our brethren, not good order and expediency only, would prompt us, at all earthly risks,

> to preserve and transmit the seal and warrant of Christ."[1]

And again,

> "Jesus Christ's own commission is the best external security I can have, that in receiving this bread and wine, I verily receive His Body and Blood. Either the Bishops have that commission, or there is no such thing in the world. For at least Bishops have it with as much evidence, as Presbyters without them. In proportion, then, to my Christian anxiety for keeping as near my saviour as I can, I shall of course be very unwilling to separate myself from Episcopal Communion. And in proportion to my charitable care for others, will be my industry to preserve and extend the like consolation and security to them."[2]

The position of the Separatists, therefore, is not simply a violation of good order, or even of Christian charity, but involves soteriological uncertainty. This, he is careful to add, does not necessarily exclude such bodies from salvation - he also carefully avoids the question as to whether or not he is "unchurching" such bodies: "To us such questions are abstract, not practical."[3] Here, for the first time, soteriological and sacramental conditions are distinguished: "'Necessary to Salvation,' and 'necessary to Church communion,' are not to be used as convertable terms."[4] And since Christian reunion can only take place on the level of "Church communion," only

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1. Tracts, Vol. I, p.2. Underlining mine.
2. Ibid., p.3.
3. Ibid., p.6.
4. Ibid.

the conditions through which sacramental continuity is preserved can have any relevance to ecumenical discussion.

In the fifth Tract, by J. W. Bowden, these conditions are said to involve both sacraments. In this Tract there is no suggestion of valid sacramental life - confirmed or unconfirmed - outside the Catholic Church as it is visibly established in its three branches. Providence has given the English branch "a body of men bearing a commission direct from Himself, to admit us into His fold by the waters of Baptism, and to nourish us in the same, not only with the pure word of His doctrine, but with the spiritual nourishment of His most blessed Body and Blood."[1] And, Bowden continues, "It would have been in vain that the two Sacraments had been instituted, had no persons, no set of men, been appointed to administer them... you cannot, I say, suppose that any one of us [laymen] might, with no other authority than his own good pleasure, proceed to baptize, or to administer the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper."[2] Both sacraments require the apostolic commission, and both sacraments, therefore, are sacraments of the Catholic Church. Neither sacrament can be said to establish a unity of Christian persons wider than the

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1. "A Short Address to his Brethren on the Nature and Constitution of the Church of Christ, and of the Branch of it Established in England. By a Layman," Tracts, Vol. I, p.2.
2. Ibid.

Catholic body. As I have suggested elsewhere, this was the inevitable consequence of the singular Tractarian definition of the Church, i.e., that the term Church could only rightly be applied to that visible community which was constituted according to certain Catholic forms.

In the thirty-fifth Tract, A. P. Perceval takes much the same position. Since the succession is the condition of organic unity and continuity, baptism, as the rite of initiation into that unity, must be dependent upon valid order:

> "A person not commissioned from the bishop, may use the words of Baptism, and sprinkle or bathe with the water, on earth, but there is no promise from Christ, that such a man shall admit souls to the Kingdom of Heaven. A person not commissioned may break bread, and pour out wine, and pretend to give the Lord's Supper, but it can afford no comfort to any to receive it at his hands, because there is no warrant from Christ to lead communicants to suppose that while he does so here on earth, they will be partakers in the Saviour's heavenly Body and Blood."[1]

In the eleventh Tract, Newman asked the rhetorical question: "Is not the notion absurd of an unbaptized person baptizing others?"[2] And since he who is not baptized in the Church is not baptized, he is saying the same thing as Perceval.

There is ample evidence in Tractarian practice that

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1. "The People's Interest in their Minister's Commission," Tracts, Vol. I, p.3.
2. "The Visible Church," Tracts, Vol. I, p.3.

supports the contention that this view of baptism had more than theoretical significance. In the summer of 1834 Newman caused no small stir by refusing, as the incumbent of a parish church in Oxford, to perform the marriage service for a parishoner because, being a Dissenter, she was unbaptized. Probably the most significant example of this practice was Mrs. Pusey's rebaptism. Early in 1838 she became convinced that her baptism by a Dissenting minister was invalid, and that she could not, therefore, receive communion. Pusey was reluctant to let her receive conditional baptism - not because he did not agree that her position was insecure, but because he did not like to think that she had been taking communion in an unregenerate state, - but in April of that year he allowed Newman to perform the rite. There is no evidence in either case that the original baptism was regarded as uncertain because of a possibly defective administration - though this argument was used later by Anglo-Catholics.

When Pusey addressed himself to the question of succession or commission, he usually related it to the sacraments. The only significant unity, the unity in Christ, "is imparted primarily through the Sacraments,"[1] and to do this Christ "useth the outward ministry of men, appointed in succession..."[2] So long as this view of the

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1. Eirenicon I, p.54.
2. Ibid., p.55.

relationship between sacrament and order prevailed, Anglo-Catholics could not approach non-episcopalians with any other appeal save that of submission to the Church, outside of which there is no ecclesiological unity.

Even among Liberal Catholics there was a tendency to make the sacraments dependent on order. This happened when they were expounding their sacramental doctrine in a general way, rather than when they were dealing specifically with baptism. In his Lux Mundi essay, Gore does this when stressing the social dimension of sacramental life. Man cannot "realize himself in isolation,"[1] and this fact is proclaimed through either of "the gifts which summarize the essence of the Church's life, grace, or truth."[2]

> "Sacraments are the ordained instruments of grace, and sacraments are in one of their aspects social ceremonies - on incorporation, or restoration, or bestowal of authority, or fraternal sharing of the bread of life. They presuppose a social organization. Those who have attempted to explain why there should be in the Church an apostolic succession of ministers, have seen the grounds of such appointment in the necessity for preserving a catholic society, which lacks the natural links of race or language or common habitation, a visible and obligatory bond of association."[3]

But when discussing the particular doctrine of baptism, he readily admits the validity of non-episcopal baptism. If this is the case, then baptism at least does not depend on

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1. Lux Mundi, p.322.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. Underlining mine.

the Catholic society - as he understands that term. This inconsistency runs through most Liberal Catholic thought on the subject. It is difficult to find a logical reason for excepting baptism from the generalizations concerning sacramental life in general. If it is not excepted, then the intensive catholicity of non-episcopal churches would have to be admitted - or they would have to be completely excluded from the Church, intensive or extensive.

This inconsistency is evident in Weston's thought. When treating the question of the sacraments generally, he too makes them dependent upon Catholic order:

> "First, the Catholic Church claims to be the mystical body of our Lord and Saviour, in which men find their union with Him. Her Sacraments are the channels of His Life. And in order to the existence of these Sacraments our Lord Himself ordained the priesthood of the Catholic Church, without which there exists no revealed guarantee of sacramental grace or Presence."[1]

Though the Kikuyu controversy, about which Weston is here writing, involved the eucharist only, he is certainly careless with his language if this is not a reference to all the Church's sacraments. But he too would say that non-episcopal baptism is valid.

Liberal Catholic ecumenists, in fact, actually built their theory of reunion upon this inconsistency. They justified a comprehensive theory of reunion with reference to the distinction between baptism and the other sacraments.

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1. Case Against Kikuyu, p.47.

Because non-episcopal communions possessed a valid baptism, the recipients of that baptism were members of the universal Church, and therefore in some sense within the given unity of the Church. The effect of this recognition was twofold: (a) it enabled Anglo-Catholic ecumenists to approach non-episcopalians as members of the Church, and therefore to adopt the comprehensive reunionist position - as opposed to a simple demand of submission, and (b) it concentrated their attention upon the eucharist as the center of the unity of the intensive Catholic Church. Baptism was the sacrament of entrence into the universal Church, and the eucharist was the sacrament which acknowledged, visibly, the covenanted vocation of the Catholic Church. Therefore all bodies of baptized Christians could, upon acceptance of the commission necessary to consecrate the eucharist, enter into the full unity of the visible Church. Of course this would have to be undertaken in a Catholic spirit and with a Catholic understanding of what was being done.

R. F. Littledale used a similar argument as early as 1884. The Roman Church cannot make good its claims to be the only true Church, he said, on the grounds of its own baptismal doctrine:

> "It is not the whole Church <u>in fact</u>, because Romans themselves allow that Baptism is the one only way of entrance into the Church, and that every duly baptized person (even if a heretic ministered the sacrament) is a

> member of the Church, and subject to its laws, even heretics by birth being as it were rebels and deserters, who may be justly compelled to submit."[1]

Though he does not make the distinction here, Littledale would have to grant that there is a difference in status within the Church thus defined - even if he did not go so far as to speak of two churches, - depending upon whether or not the individual has been confirmed within and accepts the standards of the Catholic body.

When confronted by the question as to whether his covenant ecclesiology did not in fact fail to account for a large portion of Christ's people, Gore simply took refuge in the principle of tutiorism:

> "... if you press the question further, and ask, 'Does not your theory of the security of the covenant involve the conception of "valid sacraments" - sacraments, that is, that are only valid when they are celebrated by persons properly ordained in the due transmission of apostolical authority? and does not this theory leave out of account what is, at least in Anglo-Saxon Christianity, an immense and solid part of the working force of Christianity?' - I answer, we must hold to this doctrine of apostolic succession as bound up with the validity of <u>some at least</u> of the sacraments ... But what is meant by valid sacraments? ... the opposite of secure or valid is not non-existent but precarious."[2]

This does not explain why "some at least" of the sacraments are to be treated in one way, and others in another way. Though Gore was willing to refer to non-episcopal bodies

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1. <u>Plain Reasons</u>, p.162.
2. <u>Mission of the Church</u>, p.26.

as churches, members of such bodies were incorporated into the body of Christ as individuals, not corporately.[1] Baptism could secure their salvation, but only by virtue of an individual and uncovenanted relationship with Christ, not by virtue of their membership in their particular communion. Thus baptism did not give them the right to commune with the Catholic Church on the basis of their membership in those churches. Summarizing Gore's ecumenical position, his biographer said:

> "Accordingly, he repeated his contention that the Church could only be held together by corporate acceptance of the episcopate as of the essence of a valid ministry, and of an episcopally ordained priesthood as necessary for a valid Eucharist."[2]

In his Lux Mundi essay, Walter Lock deals at some length with the question of the relationship between the baptized and the communicant members of the Church. There must be some distinction drawn, he says, between those who are professing Churchmen and those who are not, "for the sake of reality."[3] Of the non-episcopalians he says:

> "We recognize that every atom of their faith is genuine, that so far as they have one Lord, one faith, one baptism, they are true members of the Church; that so far as they have banded themselves together into a society, they have something akin to the reality of the Church, and gain some of its social blessings."[4]

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1. Ibid., pp.vii-viii.
2. Prestige, Gore, p.376. Underlining mine.
3. Lux Mundi, p.383.
4. Ibid.

Though he has already said more than many Anglo-Catholics would care to say about non-episcopalians generally, he too raises the question of security:

> "But then it is they who have banded themselves together into a society: and that means they have done it at their own risk. We rest upon the validity of our sacraments, because they were founded by the Lord Himself, because they have been handed down in regular and valid channels to us. Have they equal security that their sacraments are valid?"[1]

But here again what amounts to a sacramental puritanism does not allow Lock logically to assume the absolute validity of non-episcopalian baptism, while at the same time questioning their communion. In the above quotations, it would seem that their baptism too was insecure. Though logically this would result in the demand that non-episcopalians receive conditional baptism, as well as episcopal ordination, before there could be general reunion, such a demand was never made.

In this same essay, Lock develops an important point of Liberal Catholic eucharistic doctrine: the idea of the eucharist as the perfect expression of Christian worship. The fact that the Church exists for the benefit of the whole world, even though it does not embrace the whole of that world, must be expressed in its life. Because the eucharist is the perfect expression of sacrifice, it "above all others, has become the centre of unity."[2] In it

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid., p.392.

alone can men be unified:

> "Over against the divisions of race and continent the Church raises still its witness to the possibility of an universal brotherhood: over against despair and dispersion it speaks of faith and the unity of knowledge: over against pessimism it lifts up a perpetual Eucharist."[1]

Despite the difficulties inherent in their doing so, a large number of Liberal Catholics, and even later sub-Tractarian writers, followed the practice of distinguishing between individual and corporate membership in the Church. Baptism was the individualistic sacrament and the eucharist the corporate sacrament. Earl Nelson quotes favorably from Prof. Collins who said that though he could not recognize the claims of the Free Churches to be independent churches (corporately), the relationship of the Church with them had been made unnecessarily difficult by refusing to recognize their members (individually) "as baptized members of the Church of Christ."[2] In short, he would be willing to recognize non-episcopalian baptism, but not non-episcopalian communion. Bicknell recalls St. Augustine's recognition of schismatic sacraments and the early Church's recognition of heretical baptism, and draws the conclusion that, "In some sense, therefore, it was possible to be in Christ and yet outside the one visible community of the Church."[3] Shortly after this he speaks of baptism as

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1. Ibid., p.402.
2. Home Reunion, p.24.
3. Theological Introduction, p.236.

making all Christians "members of the Catholic Church."[1] In this context, of course, Bicknell uses the term Catholic Church to refer to the extensive Church - the intensive Church is identified with the phrase "the one visible community of the Church." L. Pullan, as we have already noted, readily agreed that baptism brought the non-episcopalians within the realm of salvation: "If they are baptized they are beyond question members of Christ, and nothing can exaggerate the importance of this fact."[2] Though he does not question the security of such baptism he is equally insistent in saying that they are extra ecclesiam.[3] His distinction, then, is between membership in Christ as individuals, and membership in the communion of the Church.

In the small book entitled Who are Members of the Church?, D. Stone and F. W. Puller are not so certain about the status of the baptized person who has not been confirmed within the Catholic Church (intensive).[4] Since some who are thus baptized can lose their membership in the Church, however valid the baptism may have been, the position of the whole group is not secure. For Stone at least, the reason for this hesitancy is revealed in other writings, and can be traced to the dilemma of Anglo-Catholic

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1. Ibid., p.242.
2. Missionary Principles, p.21.
3. Ibid., p.52.
4. Who Are Members of the Church?, p.17.

sacramentalism which we have been discussing. In the book The Notes of the Church, he defines the Church both with respect to outward organization and inward life. The inward life, upon which the unity of the outward is built, is sacramental life. Like Gore, he defines the sacramental system in terms of life within the Catholic Church, and cannot, therefore, easily separate one element out of it:

> "... we may observe six marks of the Unity of the Church. First, there is the worship of the one true God. Secondly, there is the acceptance of the one true faith. Thirdly, there is the one Baptism which is the means of Christian life. Fourthly, there is the one Communion of the body and blood of Christ. Fifthly, there is the one hope of eternal life in the presence of God, the attainment of which is the Christian aim. Sixthly, there is the one Spirit, Who guides and rules and empowers and dwells in Christians. This teaching, if we are to understand it, requires, like that of our Lord, two ideas of unity concurrently held, namely, that of outward organization, and that of inward life."[1]

The ideal unity would involve a complete fellowship in which the same laws were followed under the same visible rule, drawing out of the same sacraments the same life; but failing this, the practical question must be asked as to what the minimum conditions of unity are. His answer is that the minimum conditions consist in the sacramental life, and "such a measure of external unity as will keep for us the inner life."[2] Though he agrees that the validity of baptism does not depend upon the episcopal order

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1. Notes of the Church, pp.10-11.
2. Ibid., p.18.

of the Church, he does insist that the condition of sacramental life requires the reception of both sacraments together - and therefore the fullness of either sacrament does, in fact, depend upon episcopacy:

> "Assuming for the moment what will then be said [in a later chapter], the minimum of the unity of external organization is the common possession of the episcopate, as the unity of the Church's inner life cannot be without the reception of the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist."[1]

N. P. Williams, in his address to the First Anglo-Catholic Congress, gets around this problem by referring to normal - and, by inference, abnormal - baptism. "In the widest sense of the word," he admits, "the Church includes all baptised persons;"[2] but he refers to as "normal baptised persons," "Those who constitute the concrete, historical society which is visibly and externally continuous with the community founded by Christ."[3] The fact that this distinction must be made in William's system underlines the difficulty with which Anglo-Catholics extracted one rite from the sacramental life of the Catholic body.

While T. A. Lacey was critical of the branch theorists who believed that the unity of the Church consisted in the possession of a valid sacramental life only, he himself advocated a conception of organic unity which was both

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1. Ibid., p.19.
2. Anglo-Catholic Congress, 1920, p.65.
3. Ibid., pp.65-66.

related to the sacraments and dependent upon the episcopate. We have already noted his distinction between the "organic" and the "organizational" aspects of episcopacy.[1] What Lacey was really objecting to in the common statement of the branch theory was a purely static conception - whether it took an organizational or sacramental form, i.e., that all the baptized are members of the unity of the Church. He insisted on a doctrine of unity which accounted for the continuing organic relationships of Christian life. For this reason he preferred the analogy of the sea, with the flowing currents continually moving below surface obstructions, to that of the tree, with its fixed relationships, in describing the Church. In his view, the unity of organic life is dependent upon certain conduits or connections, which are identified with the episcopate: "This unity, being social, depends upon the continuance of a certain order... The episcopate, in particular, is one solid indivisible order, and the individual Christian is held immovable in union with this whole order by communion with his own bishop."[2] Because the organic, sacramental life of the Church must be expressed as a whole in that body's structure,[3] it is difficult for Lacey to separate

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1. Cf., above, Ch. IV, p.436ff.
2. The Unity of the Church, p.154.
3. Lacey could not really distinguish between Church and sacrament, they were both parts of the same organism: "The real unity of the Church is sacramental. I do not mean that it stands in this or that sacrament. The Church itself is the sacramentum unitatis." Unity and Schism, pp.156-157.

any one sacrament from the rest.

It is because the distinction between baptism and the eucharist is not entirely at home in his general sacramental philosophy, that Lacey, like the others we have been considering, had to lean so heavily upon the principle of security when dealing with the actual status of non-episcopalians. In an appendix to the book The One Body and the One Spirit, he directs his attention to this question under a discussion of the conditions of intercommunion. He begins by pointing out that while the common table is an essential part of unity, it is in no sense a means to unity. Only those baptized Christians who also accept the "bond of peace" - identified with the episcopacy - are able to come together around that table. Holy Communion is a mark, but not a method, of unity.[1] Lacey admits that in an emergency anyone can baptize, but the eucharist is always dependent on valid episcopal order. The weakness of this distinction is revealed in Lacey's admission that it cannot be proved from the New Testament or the Primitive Church. The principle of tutiorism must be applied: "In accordance with the principle of tutiorism... it seems to me impossible to accept such ordination [non-episcopal] as sufficient [to ensure a valid eucharist]."[2] In his book Unity and Schism, the same position is adopted. There he

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1. One Body and the One Spirit, pp.204-205.
2. Ibid., p.214.

says that intercommunion must witness to an existing unity which is something more than the unity of the Spirit: "Some unity of the Spirit we must acknowledge, but is it the kind of unity which is naturally expressed by the external bond of a sacrament?"[1] There is a baptismal unity in Christ which gives an individual the right to seek communion at the Church's altars, but it is quite another thing if he expects communion by virtue of his membership in a non-episcopal church. A distinction is made between the organic and corporate unity of the intensive Church, and the more or less atomistic unity of the extensive Church, of which all the baptized are members. "Intercommunion," he says, "is not a relation of individuals: it is a relation of communities."[2]

The relationship between sacrament and unity in the Anglo-Catholic ecumenical theology was not confined to this ecclesiological distinction. While the doctrine of baptism which we have been considering was important in that it provided a useful foundation for discussion with non-episcopalians, the application of eucharistic doctrine to ecumenics was a more significant development. And it was a development common to all schools within the Movement. Liberal Catholic H. N. Kelly, for instance, held that true unity consisted in the common offering of worship. Since

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1. Unity and Schism, p.120.
2. Ibid., p.124.

the eucharist was perfect worship, it was also the center of this unity:

> "The true centre of Christianity, however, is not organization but worship. The Church, therefore, is primarily an organization for worship, and it is the nature of this supreme act [the eucharist] which must determine our ideas of organization."[1]

He believed that by shifting the whole question or reunion to the level of worship or sacramental life, many of the difficulties involved in controversies about Church authority could be avoided. In the eucharist there could be unity without uniformity - as there had been in the Medieval Church.[2]

Gerard Sampson's views were similar. In his book Catholic Truth and Unity, he considers the problems of reunion both with non-episcopal and episcopal churches. The non-episcopalians, in separating from the Catholic Church, "lost a vital part of Catholic truth, namely, the faith and worship of our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament," which they must regain through "a ministry with Apostolic Orders" before reunion with them was possible.[3] The dogmatic and structural forms exist simply to preserve the eucharist. In fact, it sometimes seems as if the eucharist is the whole substance of Christian religion for Sampson: the ministry exists simply for its celebration, there seems

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1. Church and Religious Unity, pp.54-55.
2. Ibid., p.12.
3. Catholic Truth and Unity, p.15.

to be nothing more to Christ's demands than to participate in it, and there is no real worship apart from it: "No one can be said to know what worship is who has not thus adored [the presence of Christ in the eucharist]."[1] Since it is the center of worship, it will also be the center of unity: "... the centre of unity, the centre of faith, and the centre of worship in the Catholic Church is the Blessed Sacrament."[2] And until non-episcopalians have the sacrament there can be no hope of unity. Sampson's position is an example of the Ritualistic type of ecumenism. He does not apply a general sacramental philosophy to the particular ecumenical problem, and he does not rely upon the principle of tutiorism; he simply speaks from a position within which the eucharist is a self-authenticating fact of experience, quite out of the context of any system. The eucharist is that without which religious life has no meaning for the author; and this devotional attitude, which also involved a number of subsidiary eucharistic doctrines, is simply applied to everything, including Christian reunion. Though many of the Ritualists were not active ecumenists, they were very jealous lest association with non-Catholic churches intrude upon their sacramental security.

A. Chandler has much the same approach. In The English

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1. Ibid., p.86.
2. Ibid., p.75.

Church and Reunion, he puts forward a vision of what the Catholic religion should be - a vision dominated by the eucharist, - and then draws out an ecumenical position designed to safeguard that picture against alien influences. He thus describes what the Church in the present age (1916) should be:

> "... it will be the cult of an agonizing God, an empty tomb, a real presence on the altar; the cult of a God whose body, broken in utter weariness and seeming defeat, is given to feed His disciples with its risen and present power. It will be a religion combining Evangelical devotion to the person of Jesus with Catholic zeal for the sacraments that bring Him to us; a religion in which obedience will be based on the truest of all motives, the self-surrender of free men to Him whom their souls adore. A religion with such motives and ideals ought to make an incisive appeal to all that is best and most characteristic in the English Church."[1]

This, of course, is another instance of the tremendous emphasis upon the continuity of life - a continuity safeguarded by a static structure of dogma and commission - within Anglo-Catholicism:

> "We share one life, the Life of Christ communicated through appointed rites, a Life which shall gather up into itself all the existing organizations, efforts, and aspirations of a divided Christendom. This Sacramental Life, safeguarded and guaranteed through the Apostolic ministry which conveys it, will act as a real unifying body; within the unity of that Life there will be room for an almost unlimited diversity of practices and methods."[2]

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1. The English Church and Reunion (London: 1916), pp.147-148.
2. Ibid., p.159.

This unity of life in the Church would be episcopal as to order, and sacramental as to faith. One could almost say that this was the whole Anglo-Catholic ecumenical theology in a nut-shell.

The Anglican Papalist school simply carried this eucharistic emphasis one step further. For them the mass was the central and most significant fact of religion, and therefore the real center of unity. It did not stand alone, but to accept it would eventually lead to all else. Though R. A. Cram was not, strictly speaking, a Papalist, his article in Reunion, entitled "Christian Unity," puts the essentials of that position quite clearly:

> "I wish to offer what I believe to be the basis of Christian unity. It is the comprehension and the implicit acceptance of the Sacramental philosophy of the Roman and Orthodox Churches; the acknowledging of the Seven Sacraments of Catholicity as the prescribed means whereby God succours and saves His children, and the use of these Sacraments, and the unnumbered sacraments, as prescribed by the Catholic Church."[1]

Though he too considers the sacraments as parts within a single organism, the eucharist is distinguished as almost the summation of the rest:

> "This sacramental philosophy and system concentrate and reach their apex in Holy Mass, both as Communion and as Sacrifice. Here is the golden cord that binds us to the Roman Catholic and Holy Orthodox Churches and definitely excludes us from the communion of any or all of the Protestant denominations. It is not the fact of Apostolical

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1. Reunion (Nov., 1934), p.84.

> Succession that matters, except in so far as this guarantees validity of the Mass and other Catholic Sacraments, for this divine institution is but a means to this particular end. Acceptance of Episcopal ordination, either original or conditional, would be but one of those technical steps towards reunion without the consequent and indispensible unity to which I have referred. Therefore, it follows that there can be no unity, or even reunion with Protestant bodies or individuals who do not accept implicitly the Mass and other Catholic Sacraments. Only the Patriarchates of the East and West possess this living faith and this living, energizing force, and it is to them alone that we can look as centres for the desired reunion that carries with it the quality of unity."[1]

Here again the vehicle of sacramental life is the episcopate, and the faith is the sacramental philosophy.

But since it was the Liberal Catholics who were most concerned with developing an ecumenical theology that would in some way include non-episcopal bodies, it is to one of the leading ecumenical theologians among them, Frank Weston, that we shall turn in conclusion. Though his major work in this field, The Fulness of Christ, is more a collection of essays than a systematic theology, the underlying unity of thought is clearly evident. Throughout the book the same conceptions are brought to bear on various aspects of the ecumenical problem. One of these themes is the moral obligation which the visible Church has to express in its life both God's transcendence and immanence. On the basis of this dual relationship of God to man,

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1. Ibid.

Weston makes the distinction between the essential and the accidental Church which we have considered elsewhere.[1] Since the essential Church is complete, Christian reunion can only involve the accidental - or, more properly, the relationship between the visible and accidental churches. The accidental Church, as we have pointed out, can be described in terms of human response: it is "the sum total of those who, by the response of their free wills to the grace of the Spirit, have been incorporated by baptism into the essential Church, the Manhood of Christ."[2] Though the essential Church, i.e., the glorified Christ, needs nothing added to it, there is a sense in which the accidental church does complete the atoning work of Christ. As far as men are concerned, the atonement is not complete until their response is complete. The accidental Church must not, however, be confused with the visible Church which forms only a portion of it. It is possible for men to enter the accidental Church and then fall away: "They can entirely frustrate His purpose, and cast away His grace by refusal to surrender themselves to His Spirit."[3] The essential and accidental churches also represent two distinct movements which were initiated between Maundy Thursday and Pentecost: (a) Christ's movement towards

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1. Cf., above, Ch. II, p.192ff.
2. Fulness of Christ, p.124.
3. Ibid., p.268.

glorification which would subsequently represent the transcendent movement towards man, and (b) the disciples' movement "to corporate life of divine power."[1] On Maundy Thursday this double movement was anticipated: "Thus in the Washing of the Feet and the First Eucharist the essential Church is brought into union with the accidental: the Church has really begun to exist [in its fulness]."[2] It was completed - though only potentially completed so far as man is concerned - when Christ was resurrected and glorified, thus establishing the level of atonement, or manhood-in-God, where man and God could meet. At Pentecost the accidental Church was given the power to respond. The Catholic Church was formed when the essential and accidental came together in the first eucharist, and therefore "the Catholic Church is the Sacred Humanity of the Lord Jesus Christ extended and expressed in His faithful members."[3]

In the chapter entitled "Apostolate and Episcopate," the same idea is evident. The episcopate both witnesses to the transcendent authority and existence of the Christ and to the sacramental immanence:

> "And as the work of the Apostolate extended and then drew near its close, and as little by little the Episcopate emerged in its place, each local Church awoke to find the witness to immanent love and power there in its very midst; as men

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1. Ibid., p.129.
2. Ibid., p.132.
3. Ibid., p.143.

> of its own township were duly consecrated and empowered to minister this sacramental life and force."[1]

And it is in relation to this sacramental life that the idea of unity is significant. As we have seen, Weston believed that only a united body could offer that complete penitence upon which the fulfillment of Christ's act of atonement depended.[2] Since he regarded the eucharist as the most perfect worship of which the Church is capable, that sacrament is at the center of his ocumenical theology. The unity of the eucharist is virtually the unity of Calvary:

> "For no amount of labour, zeal, or ceremonial changes will make the Mass real to mankind, until mankind itself can truly interpret its own life in the light of Calvary. In the moment that a man becomes aware that he himself is called to be a kind of sacramental expression of Christ suffering on earth here and now, in order to redeem the world for the Father who hates all pain that is not love, and that in him Christ suffers, enabling him to endure in patient response to His presence; in that moment will the Mass prove itself to be not only his joy and his strength, but the central movement God-ward of which his own suffering life is a small but necessary part."[3]

This life, this unity, must be corporate and visible:

> "The representation of one Act performed in one place, Calvary, by one Person who is Himself, in virtue of that Act, the centre of unity for all creation, cannot possibly be made visible here on earth apart from one, visible union

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1. Ibid., p.152.
2. Cf., above, Ch. II, p.187ff.
3. Ibid., p.219.

of those who are in Him."[1]

Only in the common priesthood can the numerous altars of time and place be made one altar, with one sacrifice:

> "In this way of unification through priestly order, that lies within the Mystical Body as its representative and minister, the Sacrifice is made one all down the ages: the succession of the Priesthood ensuring the unity of the Act. As between altar and altar to-day, so between generation and generation of worshippers, there exists one common Act, variously repeated yet always one, the Act of Calvary, which is the ground and basis both of the Sacrificial Presence in heaven and of our acceptable worship here on earth."[2]

It is the sacrament of the altar alone that can bring the baptized into the full atoning unity of the glorified Christ. Though all the baptized are members of Christ, they are not fulfilling the obligations of their membership in the accidental Church unless they bring themselves within its visible fellowship. The eucharist itself can not complete the act of response, for it presupposes the act. The acceptance of episcopal discipline is the required evidence that an individual or community has accepted the conditions of that response. Once this is accomplished, all Christians can come together in the act of eucharistic worship: a perfect offering in complete and Catholic unity.

It is in this worship that our whole study of the

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1. Ibid., p.220.
2. Ibid.

Anglo-Catholic ecumenical theology comes to focus. The unity of the Church is the unity of worship, and the eucharist alone constitutes perfect worship. But this worship is not simply something that Christians do. It is part of an organic, continuous reality in which Christians participate. While the eucharist is consecrated afresh every time it is celebrated, that consecration is dependent upon this divinely constituted organism. For this reason, Anglo-Catholics found the organic figure, the Body of Christ, an extremely significant description of the Church. The organic unity of the Church has both a natural and a moral, to use Lacey's terms, relationship to the essential unity of the Godhead. The relationship was natural, or given, in so far as it was constituted by God and sustained by His general and sacramental presence. And it was moral in so far as the Christian body was under the obligation to witness to it through visible forms and unified life. Therefore Christian reunion, as man's act, can only be understood in relation to this moral obligation. In so far as the forms of dogma and structure are elements within this moral unity, they are not absolute, but in so far as they have a necessary relationship to the natural unity, they are indispensible. While Anglo-Catholics did not agree among themselves as to how much Catholic dogma, or how much Catholic organization, was to be included within each category, these fundamental principles were

held in common. Their disagreements, while constituting practical difficulties, were not significant because it was the organic unity of sacramental life, perfectly expressed in eucharistic worship, not the forms which carried, preserved, and witnessed to that life, which constituted the unity of the Catholic Church. The Anglo-Catholics thus entered the modern Ecumenical Movement determined that nothing should be done that might destroy that life in the Anglican Church, and, more positively, with the conviction that it was their privilege to give this life to a reunited Christendom - in so far as other Catholic churches were not involved.

Conclusion

This Thesis has considered ecumenical developments within Anglo-Catholicism during, roughly, the first ninety years of its existence as a distinct and self-conscious school within the Church of England. It has placed special emphasis on the development of what is known as Liberal Catholicism prior to 1920. This has been done not because I am not aware of the real and substantial Anglo-Catholic tradition which runs counter to the Liberal development, but because it is my conviction that this Liberal Catholicism has already made a definite theological contribution to the Ecumenical Movement and that its rational approach to the question of Christian unity offers the most promising opening for reconciliation between Protestants and Catholics.

Liberal Catholicism developed an ecumenical theology in which Christian unity was placed at the very center of the Church's evangelical task. The Church was constituted by Christ, they said, in order that in it mankind might be reconciled to God. In the united fellowship of the Church, Weston said, mankind was to complete the atoning work of Christ. The unity of the visible Catholic Church was thus regarded as man's response to the redemptive work of God. While it was clearly distinguished from the essential unity in Christ which is constituted by God alone, this was the unity which Christians must realize

in order to fulfill their mission in the world. While this conception of unity was based upon certain principles which were fundamental to the whole Anglo-Catholic Movement, it represented a distinct advance over Tractarian thought - in so far as it allowed Anglo-Catholics to justify Anglican involvement in the Ecumenical Movement. Liberal Catholics could approach reunion discussion with an open mind in so far as the precise forms of the united Church were concerned - at least this was theoretically true. The sacramental life, which was the unity of the visible Church, could be maintained under a variety of forms so long as the principle and fact of continuity was preserved. In our discussion of the dogmatic and structural forms of unity, it was evident that, for the Liberal Catholic, the conditions under which this continuity could be maintained involved the witness to the unity of truth, which in turn usually involved the ideas of authority and discipline, and the apostolic commission as passed on through a successively consecrated episcopate. Theoretically this allowed the Liberal Catholic to approach the practical questions involved in establishing a normative form within a reunited Christendom, particularly where non-Catholic bodies were concerned, with considerable flexibility. While Catholic principles must not be sacrificed, the rigid forms of any one existing Catholic Church need not be forced upon the reunited Church as indispensable.

But when it came down to concrete situations even the Liberal Catholics appeared unable to accept any scheme of reunion which was not based upon the adoption of the traditional patterns of Catholic faith and order, as they had generally been accepted in the Anglican, Roman, and Orthodox churches. While a modified presbyterianism could theoretically transmit the apostolic commission, Anglo-Catholic ecumenists nevertheless insisted upon monepiscopacy, and while an acceptance of the classical Christian creeds and the Scriptures could theoretically constitute a valid witness to the unity of truth and faith, the Catholic insisted that a particular interpretation of episcopal ordination and the sacraments was also necessary. There were two primary reasons for this seeming inconsistency. The first was that throughout our period Anglo-Catholicism was dominated by a static conception of the Christian religion. However much the visible forms of unity were understood as a human response to God and a moral expression of the essential unity in Christ, the fact remained that Anglo-Catholics believed that God had given certain forms to the Church, through Christ and the Apostles, which were to be the instruments of unity. In other words, man could not create the forms of united response. Most Anglo-Catholics believed that the organizational and doctrinal developments, or, more properly, interpretations, of the first four or five

Christian centuries revealed these God-given forms. Even the Liberal Catholics, with their greater historical perception, accepted this standard. It was not wise to greatly alter this pattern.

The second, and possibly more fundamental, reason for Anglo-Catholic rigidity in ecumenical discussion with non-Catholics was that they were not sure of the status of such Christians. Throughout our period Anglo-Catholics readily admitted the salvability of the non-Catholic Christian. But they also admitted the salvability of the heathen. Was the non-Catholic Christian to be regarded as the highest degree of heathenism, the highest stage of spiritual development, next to Catholic religion, on the continuum of religious life which extends from the savage to the saint, or was he to be clearly distinguished from the non-Christian? If he was to be so distinguished, what was the basis of the distinction? Since the Tractarians, by and large, accepted the idea of an essential continuity between natural and supernatural religion, it was virtually impossible for them to distinguish, except in degree of error, between those bodies of men which rejected the Catholic Church, and yet called themselves Christians, and heathens. The non-Catholic Christian was unchurched, and, like the heathen, he could only be brought within Catholic unity by submission to the Catholic Church.

For various reasons, the most obvious of which was

the evangelical vigor and evidence of the Spirit's work among non-Catholic Christian bodies, this position became increasingly difficult for Anglo-Catholics to maintain. Was there not a sense in which these communions were also within Christ's Church? The Liberal Catholics answered this question by suggesting that the Catholic doctrine of baptism justified an affirmative answer. Christian baptism, even if administered by a schismatic or heretic, made its recipients members of Christ, and thus members of His Church. Even though this individual might not fulfill his obligation to be confirmed within the Catholic Church, and thus participate in the unified and reconciling life of mankind as God intended it to be, he remained within the Church in a general sense. To distinguish between this wider unity of all Christian people and the covenanted unity of the Catholic body, the terms extensive and intensive, or universal and Catholic, were sometimes used. The importance of this idea as a means of giving non-Catholic churches a distinct ecclesiological status is nowhere more evident than in its adoption by the Lambeth Conference of 1920 as a justification for ecumenical relations with these communions. If this theory had not been developed Anglo-Catholics could no more have entered the Ecumenical Movement in the twentieth century than they could have entered into reunion discussions with German Protestants and Scottish Presbyterians in the nineteenth.

However useful this theory has been, it was not an idea which was entirely at home in the Anglo-Catholic conception of unity, as I have tried to show. Unity was based upon and consisted in a sacramental existence which embraced the whole spiritual life of man. The Church sacraments provided the substance of this life. When speaking generally, Anglo-Catholics said that this life depended upon certain forms, certain channels, the most important of which was the apostolic ministry. It was extremely difficult, and in a sense illogical, for them to say this on the one hand, and then turn about and say that one sacrament, the sacrament of baptism, was to be excepted. While all other sacraments depended upon a valid and unbroken organic connection with Christ Incarnate, this sacrament alone depended, for its efficacy, upon the promise of Christ and the uncovenanted activity of the Holy Spirit. That this exception was unnatural is evident in the Tractarian tendency to openly repudiate non-Catholic baptism, and in the difference between the way in which Liberal Catholics spoke of the sacraments generally and the way in which they spoke of baptism by itself.

This was the dilemma in which Anglo-Catholic ecumenists found themselves on the eve of the Ecumenical Movement. They had a strong and positive ecumenical theology, but they were hampered in their application of that theology to the question of Christian reunion where non-Catholic bodies

were concerned because they were unable to come to terms with the fact of such communities. Many avoided the whole issue by simply dismissing the non-Catholics as schismatics and heretics. While this was an easy and tempting solution, many Anglo-Catholics felt that the fruits of the Spirit in the life of these Christian communities did not justify this conclusion. Until some stronger and more logical explanation of the status of these bodies was forthcoming, Anglo-Catholicism would remain impotent within the Ecumenical Movement. It could offer a theory of the Church, and a theory of unity, but it could not offer a theory of reunion that would comprehend the whole of Christendom.

Appendix A: Origins of the term "Anglo-Catholic"

In this Thesis the term "Anglo-Catholic" is used to designate that group of men within the modern Anglican Church which stands within the traditions of the Oxford Movement of 1833-1845. The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church defines the term as "the modern name of the more advanced section of the High Church movement in the C of E."[1] While there is a sense in which Anglo-Catholics can be identified with the traditional High Church party, the student of nineteenth century Anglicanism will not get very far if he treats the two as one. The similarities are largely superficial. One important point of contact was a common veneration for the Carolinian divines - the founders of the High Church tradition. But as has often been pointed out, the only seventeenth century divine who really anticipated modern Anglo-Catholicism was Lancelot Andrewes. In one sense, then, it might be said that the modern movement was a revival of theological views held by certain seventeenth century Anglicans, but this cannot be regarded as a movement continuous with the High Church party of the early nineteenth century. The dissimilarities are tremendous. Some have suggested that the "high" doctrine of the Church came into the Oxford Movement through the High Church party, and that therefore

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1. The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church (London: 1958), p.55.

the two must be regarded as continuous. There is some substance in this suggestion, but too much cannot be made of it. Tractarian leaders like Pusey, Froude, and Keble had been brought up in the High Church tradition, but the man who did more than any other to shape the Movement, J. H. Newman, not only had been brought up an Evangelical, but claimed to have learned his doctrine of the Church from Richard Whately of Oriel College - and Whately, while not an Evangelical, cannot be described as a High Churchman. Besides this, the Tractarian conception of the Church was quite distinct from that of the High Church party. The attitude towards the English Reformation and the Establishment was entirely different in the two groups. But probably the best illustration of the essential difference is to be found in the rift that developed within the Movement in the early 1840's. Throughout the 1830's the Tractarian school and the High Church school had worked together in the common cause of saving the English Church from Liberalism. When it became evident that the Church had survived the Reform Bill era, this common front disintegrated. And in 1843, William Palmer, the most outstanding High Churchman associated with the Movement, repudiated the Tractarian development in his Narrative of Events connected with the Publication of Tracts for the Times. Immediately following the secessions of 1845 and 1850, there was open antagonism between the two groups.

The rather heated controversy between W. F. Hook, a High Churchman, and Pusey is a good example of this. Only towards the end of the century was there a reconciliation between the two groups - there is even a sense in which Liberal Catholicism, with its rational approach to religious questions, had more in common with the High Church than with the Tractarian or Ritualist traditions.

The case for continuity can be strengthened, however, if the non-Jurors are regarded as a legitimate High Church group. There is no question but that Tractarians like Keble and Froude had been brought up in families still influenced by the non-Jurors, but there was no actual connection between the two movements. There is a great similarity in the non-political thought of the two, especially respecting the doctrine of the Church. Ken's devotional writing was also influential in the formation of Tractarianism. H. R. T. Brandreth believes that these arguments are sufficient to place the Tractarians within the High Church tradition. I do not feel that this attempt to relate Anglo-Catholicism with a traditional Anglican party is very useful - especially with respect to developments in the nineteenth century.

In any event the name Anglo-Catholic was not applied to a party within the English Church until the 1830's. The term itself had been used in the seventeenth century - usually in its Latin form, Anglo-Catholicus, - but at that

time it was simply used as a name for the English Church in general. No one has determined precisely when it was first applied to the Oxford Movement. In a brief appendix to the second chapter of P. E. Shaw's The Early Tractarians and the Eastern Church, the question is discussed. To his knowledge the earliest use of the term in this way was in 1838. In that year this usage is found in Palmer's Treatise, and in two British Critic articles. The fact that both articles appeared after the publication of the Treatise, one being an article (probably written by C. de Bas) entitled "Newman and Faber on Justification" in the July issue and the other being a review of the Treatise by Newman, suggests the rather interesting thesis that High Churchman Palmer was responsible for this application of the term. By 1841 this usage was sufficiently established to warrant its use in the name of a series of reprints of seventeenth century divines sponsored by the Tractarians under the title The Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology. In a similar analysis of the origins of the modern usage, T. A. Lacey only goes back as far as this "Library." Lacey also said that the term fell into disuse during the latter part of the century, and was only revived in the second decade of the twentieth century, i.e., in connection with the Anglo-Catholic Congress.[1] This reflects Lacey's own dislike

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1. Anglo-Catholic Faith, p.12.

for the name rather than fact, however, for it was commonly used throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Shaw also discusses the Movement's earlier collective names. He believes that the early Tractarians probably used the name "Reformed Catholic," though this suggestion is founded upon the rather flimsy evidence of one reference in the British Critic of October, 1836. It is surprising that he overlooked what was certainly the earliest name used by the Tractarians themselves - Apostolical. Froude uses that term often in his Remains, and the thirty-eighth Tract, written by Newman in July, 1834, refers to the Movement as advocating the Apostolical system.[1] The title of this Tract, Via Media, was also used to designate their system from an early date. In Newman's Lectures on the Prophetical Office of the Church (1838), the three main Anglican traditions are identified as "The Apostolical, the Latitudinarian, and the Puritan."[2] The name Tractarian was coined by the general public in recognition of the Movement's primary publication, Tracts for the Times. Names such as "Puseyites," "Newmanites," "Romanizers," and, in the sub-Tractarian period, "Ritualists," were coined by the Movement's opponents, but some of them came to be accepted by the Anglo-Catholics themselves.

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1. "Via Media. No. 1," Tracts, Vol. I, p.1.
2. Lectures, p.23.

Appendix B: Anglo-Catholics and the Bishops

One of the most puzzling aspects of the Anglo-Catholic Movement, from the point of view of the outsider, was the way in which it exalted the episcopal office and at the same time often repudiated episcopal authority. The Anglo-Catholics hardly fit Newman's description of the Tractarians as the bishops' "shield-bearers," with a relationship to their bishops similar to that of Luke and Timothy with St. Paul.[1] Even in the 1830's their opponents criticized the Tractarians for refusing to recognize episcopal authority. In the sub-Tractarian period this charge was repeated often - and not without justification. However inconsistent this position might seem to be, the reasons for it are obvious. Religious authority had to be taken out of the hands of the local episcopate if the Anglo-Catholics were to justify their continued existence within a basically hostile church. The early Tractarians did not expect to be attacked by the bishops. They probably expected the bishops to support their efforts to exalt the episcopal office. I think it can be shown that Newman, at least, expected them to do so. The evidence is not clear with respect to the attitude of the others. Writing towards the end of his life, Palmer thus explained why the Movement was initiated without any attempt first

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1. Tract I.

to secure episcopal support:

> "We had no means of approaching the bishops. The hierarchy were too far above us to be within the range of our proceedings. Their responsibilities were so great, their official dignity so high, that we could not appeal to them for support. We could only call upon the clergy to bear witness to their faith, and their steadfast adherence to their Church; and we could address them as equals."[1]

Yet this explanation is not even consistent with Palmer's own influence at the time. His book Origines Liturgicae had already established his reputation as an outstanding scholar, and of him Newman said: "He was the only really learned man among us... [he] had a certain connexion... in the Establishment, consisting of high Church dignitaries, arch-deacons, London rectors, and the like, who belonged to what was commonly called the high-and-dry school [whose] beau ideal in ecclesiastical action was a board of safe, sound, sensible men. Mr. Palmer was their organ and representative..."[2] The more probable explanation is that Palmer was outvoted on this, as he was respecting the Movement's publication policy. Substance is given this suggestion by Morse-Boycott's description of an early Tractarian policy-making meeting: "At a council in Newman's rooms... when Palmer was urging the necessity of securing the support of the 'higher' clergy, Froude,

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1. "Oxford Movement," Contemporary Review, XLIII (May, 1883), p.652.
2. Quoted in Morse-Boycott, They Shine Like Stars, p.60.

stretched on Newman's sofa, interrupted with: 'I don't see why we should disguise from ourselves that our object is to dictate to the clergy of this country, and I, for one, do not want anyone else to get on the box.'"[1] Due allowance must be made for Froude's habit of saying "shocking" things, but there must have been some doubts in the minds of the early Tractarians about the kind of support the episcopate would give. After all it was a bishop of London who had said that the doctrine of apostolic succession had gone out with the non-Jurors.

E. A. Knox finds the beginnings of the tendency to disregard local episcopal authority in the third Tract by Newman. The Tract discusses the proposed modifications of the Liturgy, and the support given such proposals by various bishops. Newman suggests that the authorities should be petitioned in protest. A similar plan, suggested by Palmer at the Hadleigh meeting, was being followed at the time of the Tract's writing. But its objectives were more general. This suggested procedure, says Knox, is "The germ surely of the Anglo-Catholic policy of 'squeezing the Bishops.'"[2] But this Tract, like the two petitions to the Archbishop of Canterbury for which Palmer was primarily responsible, only proposed to support bishops who might otherwise let things drift. Thus Newman said, in the

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1. Ibid., p.42.
2. Tractarian Movement, p.158.

Tract: "If you see the Bishops countenancing alterations, petition them, petition still. They will thank you for such a proceeding."[1] This interpretation of the Tract is supported by passages in which the author laments the current "practical disregard of the Episcopal Authority."[2] Newman thus describes the ideal relationship between bishop and priest:

> "Are we not apt to obey only so far as the law obliges us? do we support the Bishop, and strive to move all together with him as our bond of union and head? or is not our everyday conduct as if, except with respect to certain periodical forms and customs, we were each independent in his own parish?"[3]

It is a fact that Newman's consistent affirmation of episcopal authority eventually caused his break with the main Tractarian party, and, ultimately, with the English Church itself. When the bishops began to attack the Movement in the late 1830's, Newman's strong diocesan theory of the Church protected him so long as Bishop Bagot of Oxford did not join the attack. The smallest indication of displeasure from that quarter was treated as a minor crisis. This happened once towards the end of the thirties, when Bagot suggested that the Tractarians should show more discretion in their choice of words, and again in 1841 when he criticized Tract XC and asked that no more

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1. "Thoughts on Alterations in the Liturgy," Tracts, Vol. I.
2. Ibid., p.8.
3. Ibid.

Tracts be published. Though this was not so much an attack upon Newman personally, or the Movement generally, as it was an expression of concern for the controversy these documents were causing within the diocese, it proved to be one of the factors in Newman's final disillusionment with the English Church. As Pusey put it, Newman had always "leant on the Bishops," and when they gave way under him he had no support left in the English Church. Though many who left with him in 1845 had never had quite so strong a regard for the authority of an individual bishop, they had nevertheless also been disillusioned with what appeared to be a collective episcopal repudiation of Catholic principles. There were many more bishops attacking the Movement than supporting it, and there seemed to be a general consensus of episcopal opinion regarding the establishment of the Jerusalem Bishopric. They could not reconcile this state of affairs with their own position within the English Church, so they left it.

At the same time others were finding practical or theoretical ways of dealing with the situation. There were those who appealed to obsolete but unrepealed rubrics to justify particular practices which were unacceptable to their bishops. Also the practice of obeying the letter if not the spirit of episcopal commands became popular - this was particularly true of the Ritualists. Frederick Oakeley thus describes this attitude:

> "On these and similar grounds it was considered, or pretended, that a bare obedience to the literal commands of the superior was all which could in duty be required on the part of subjects who regarded the episcopal authority as, at any rate, only co-ordinate with that of the Church; and all, on the other hand, which could be fairly claimed by authorities who had themselves abstained from vigorous exercise of their power in the case even of the most flagrant violations of ecclesiastical duty."[1]

But such practices could not long sustain a religious movement, a theoretical explanation of their position was needed. Though Pusey would not have countenanced the use made of it in all cases, to him must go the credit for providing this theory.

Writing to Pusey in 1842, J. R. Hope suggested that he should "give a distinct view of the authority both of individual and collective Bishops of our (not the Universal) Church, showing that (as I conceive) they may be listened to for discipline's sake, but must be judged, as regards authority over Conscience, by the Church. And that the very same principle which leads to submission to them in one case, implies (if need be) rejection in the other. Men choose to wonder why persons who (as they say) so much exalt Bishops, should be ready to protest against them."[2] Pusey directed his attention to this problem in the second section of his letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. His

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1. Historical Notes, p.67.
2. Quoted in Liddon, Life, Vol. II, p.278.

answer to the charge of inconsistency contains the essence of the theory generally used by Anglo-Catholics to justify their opposition to the wishes of a particular bishop:

> "My object in adverting to it now, is to remove the impression of inconsistency, if they who have most vindicated the lawful authority of Bishops, should in any case be laid under the miserable necessity of speaking against what they deliver, or protesting against their teaching or their acts. I trust this may not be; but our duty to our Bishop is limited by his duty to the Church; he speaks to us as her representative; through her he received his authority, although from her Lord; his commission is to enforce her teaching, not to gainsay it; he received the succession from the Apostles, that he might hand down the deposit of teaching committed to the Church; if then unhappily he contravene his commission and her Articles of faith, it becomes a duty in any one, to speak in behalf of the common faith."[1]

This position assumed, of course, that the teaching of the Church is clear.[2] Accepting this limitation of episcopal

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1. Letter to Canterbury, pp.40-41.
2. If this assumption is not granted, H. H. Henson's observations concerning this theory of authority are valid. In the following passage he quotes one of Pusey's statements of the theory and then comments upon it: "'I am not disturbed, because I never attached any weight to the Bishops. It was perhaps, the difference between Newman and me: he threw himself upon the Bishops and they failed him: I threw myself on the English Church and the Fathers as under God her support.'
"This is a famous pronouncement, continually on the lips of Anglo-Catholics, and yet does not amount to much when closely examined. What could Pusey mean by 'throwing himself on the English Church and the Fathers', which he contrasted with Newman's practice of 'throwing himself on the Bishops!? He could but mean that, while Newman accepted the pronouncements of the Bishops as interpreting the Church's mind, he preferred his own reading of the Fathers as interpreting the Church's mind. In fact, he rested on

authority, Pusey could advise Keble not to take any notice of Bishop Sumner's attacks upon him:

> "A Presbyter would not have to resign under an Arian Bishop or Hoadley. In whatever degree he is really speaking against you, he is speaking against the truth, and therefore I should not think that I had any responsibility. It is every one's duty to maintain Catholic truth, even if unhappily opposed by a bishop..."[1]

Though Pusey sometimes suggested that the collective voice of the episcopate was doctrinally authoritative, the fundamental presuppositions of his theory of authority were static. In any event he believed that the collective pronouncements of the whole episcopate would never, by the grace of God, violate the apostolic teaching.

There are other explanations of the prominence given this theory of authority besides the one I have given, i.e., that when the Tractarians were faced with a hostile episcopate they found it necessary to justify their continued existence within the English Church. One such explanation suggests that reason is to be found in the forms the opposition took. The English episcopate in the early nineteenth century was composed of individual

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his own 'private judgment', while Newman rested on the 'private judgment' of the Bishops, which he repudiated as soon as it ceased to accord with his own. Neither position seems very satisfying." Retrospect of an Unimportant Life, Vol. II, pp.292-293.

1. Quoted in Liddon, Life, Vol. II, p.238.

bishops who were not accustomed to the kind of careful corporate action that was made possible by the revival of synodical bodies in the latter part of the century. Possibly they were not used to being taken seriously and so were accustomed to saying what they pleased. As a result their scattered attacks upon the Tractarian Movement were often inconsequential and senseless. The Bishop of London, for instance, placed the following restrictions upon the Ritualistic incumbents of St. Margaret's Chapel: (1) candles were permitted, but they could not be lighted save when necessary for illumination [1]; (2) there could only be one bouquet of flowers on the communion table, and in no case could white predominate on the feast of a virgin or red on that of a martyr; (3) they could use a dish for collecting alms, but not a bag because that was popish; (4) when taking the collection at the communion rail the priest must look at the people, not the dish, lest such an attitude suggest that he was worshipping the money; and (5) they could wear a surplice in the morning, but they had to wear a black gown in the evening - "thus neutralise Rome by Geneva."[2] This sort of illogical rear-guard action could not be expected to encourage much respect for the episcopate among the young idealists of

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1. One wit observed that the advance of Ritualism was greatly aided by the London fogs.
2. Oakeley, Historical Notes, p.69.

the Movement. Palmer believed that the individualistic character of the Movement accounted for its difficulties with the episcopate. He attributed this characteristic to Newman's original decision to make the Tracts an unedited and uncontrolled outlet for individual opinion: "The principle, then, was established in the Tractarian Movement, that individual judgment was to exercise the fullest influence upon these and other publications, and when individual judgment was so strongly encouraged, it was impossible in the nature of things that private opinions and speculations should not be introduced."[1] Brilioth's explanation of the Tractarian difficulties with respect to the episcopate is perhaps the most profound. He believed that the Movement embraced two conceptions of authority. The first of these he called the static view. Revelation had been given once and for all, and it was the business of the episcopate to preserve that deposit. But there was also a sacramental conception of authority in which religious certainty was mediated through the self-authenticating sacramental life. Thus even though the justification for disobeying the local episcopate was given in static terms, the real basis of their disobedience was the less rational sacramentalism:

"No doubt during the progress of the Movement

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1. Narrative, p.57.

> disobedience to the living episcopate was a distinguishing feature, as often as its commands seemed to conflict with the requirements of sacramental religion - and this is one of the best proofs of what was the deepest driving-force. But although this to some extent may appear as a revolt against staticism, it resulted only in an appeal from the living episcopate to the tribunal of the 'Catholic Church.'"[1]

We see this "sacramentalism" in its extreme form in the thought of W. G. Ward who repudiated any significant conception of static authority, and in the appeal to the authority of eucharistic experience which was often made by Anglo-Catholics in the later period.

In the sub-Tractarian period the conflict between Anglo-Catholics, particularly the Ritualists, and the bishops was intensified. There were only a few bishops who befriended them, and fewer still who would identify themselves with their cause, and almost none who really moved very far beyond the traditional High Church position. This situation did not change till the end of the century.[2] In this period Pusey showed some concern about the way in which his own principles were being used. In a letter to H. C. Wood (December 4, 1876), he reveals a situation which was close to anarchic:

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1. Anglican Revival, pp.329-330.
2. In an Establishment like that of the English Church the attitudes of the reigning monarch are not without significance. In this case, Victoria was known to strongly dislike the Anglo-Catholics, whereas, on the other hand, Edward VII was a life-long friend of Viscount Halifax - a leading Anglo-Catholic layman.

> "Now, what I think we have to make clear to ourselves is, what we do mean [by authority]; that we may not seem to use arguments whose validity we do not recognize, or reject particular authority because we reject all authority except our private judgment. There ought to be an answer to the Bishop of Lichfield's question, 'Whom, or what would you obey?' I suspect that most of the Ritualists would be at a loss for an answer. Their line seems to me to be - 'We are certainly right, we shall obey our own consciences and what we think to be right, and shall obey no authority, spiritual or temporal, which contravenes this.'"[1]

Throughout our period the irresponsible activities of zealous Ritualists made the Movement's apologetic unnecessarily difficult. These men often seemed to practice a sort of Catholic eclecticism with no apparent authority at all. But the vast majority of Anglo-Catholics appealed to the practices and doctrines of the universal Church to justify actions contrary to the express wishes of English bishops. The principles upon which this appeal was based were clearly put by two-hundred incumbent clergymen in a protest against the suppression of certain Ritualistic practices in 1899:

> "That the clergy owe it to the whole Catholic Church of Christ faithfully to refuse to obey any demands, even though they come in the name of Authority, which conflict with the laws, usages, customs, and rites of the Church, whether ecumenical or provincial, which have canonical authority."[2]

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1. Quoted in Liddon, Life, Vol. IV, p.285.
2. Quoted in Morse-Boycott, They Shine Like Stars, p.222.

Unfortunately some Anglo-Catholics began to take pride in what they had accomplished through disobedience. After all, was this not the way in which most of the recent Catholic gains had been secured in the Church of England? An example of this attitude can be found in Father Dolling's boast that he would defy Bishop Davidson's (later Archbishop) request that a third altar not be erected in his church. Of the incident Davidson wrote: "On my suggestion that the alternative he preferred seemed to be that he should decide the question, he said that this had always been the way in which of recent years victories for the cause of Catholic truth had been won in the Church of England."[1]

While most Anglo-Catholics would accept the principles upon which such attitudes were built, they would repudiate this extreme application of them. Gore is a good example of this moderate group. While he did not share the Tractarian naïvité in believing that Christian traditions were unambiguous, he did believe that there was dogmatic authority in the creeds, and that the bishops had a just claim to disciplinary authority. There must be a balance between truth and discipline. It was one thing to say that an individual bishop might err doctrinally, and quite another to say that he had no authority at all. He was extremely

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1. Quoted in Bell, Randall Davidson, Vol. I, p.267.

critical of those anti-authoritarian developments within Anglo-Catholicism in which "Policy was dictated by admiration for practical efficiency and... [the] impressive majesty of the Roman Church."[1] "Rome loomed before their consciousness," he said, "like a vast edifice of super-natural magnificance, the more overpowering to their imagination for the fact that it was clouded in a sunset haze of sentiment, the more binding on their devotion by reason that such obedience as they sought to render to Roman ideals was purely self-imposed."[2] This is an interesting point which Gore often makes. In another place he says:

> "... the advanced people do not believe in the Church of England but only in their own organization, and they will not co-operate in any movement which tends to make a distinction between the creeds and what they call the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist... I am not at all sure that there will not be a considerable secession to Roman Catholicism, nor am I at all sure that I wish to make great efforts to prevent those who could become Roman Catholics from becoming so. Of course I could not do so under any circumstances, nor anyone who thinks at all like me."[3]

He was very concerned lest the practice of disobedience, which had sometimes been necessary in the past, should become a habit: "... when a cause is won by successful disobedience - however legitimate and even necessary -

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1. Quoted in Prestige, Gore, p.457.
2. Ibid., pp.457-458.
3. Ibid., pp.407-408.

a very serious moral risk is run, especially in the region of religion."[1] He himself believed that the Prayer Book should be regarded as the authoritative Anglican formulary. As to the living authority of the Church, he agreed with the Ritualists that it could not rest in secular courts. The primary court should be the bishop's court, and beyond that the Provincial court. He adds the significant reservation that, considering the present condition of the English Church, it might be quite possible for the collective episcopate to force upon the Church that which the Church does not want. He suggests that this reservation must always be made until the bishops are chosen by the Church itself: "... it is impossible to acknowledge simply and straight-out that at the last resort the priest must obey the bishop, without adding the proviso that the bishops must be so appointed to their office as to give reasonable security that they represent the church as Fathers in God should."[2] The question of valid courts could not be separated from the question of episcopal appointment: "I would beg those who ask us the challenging question referred to above [who or what would you obey?], to consider how deep this consideration runs into the theory of representative government, which is really the original theory, and the basis of the original

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1. Anglo-Catholic Movement Today, p.33.
2. Ibid., p.45.

practice, of the church."[1]

Lacey too was cautious on this issue. When confronted with opinions which are not in agreement with the rest of the Catholic Church, he suggests, "It may be said that their only duty is patiently to endure; at the worst, to put up a passive resistance if they are required to teach or profess what is false; they are not in a position to judge their superiors; a single bishop must not actively oppose the corporate action of his comprovincials, and the clergy or laity of a diocese must not actively oppose their own bishops."[2] When one took this position there was always the possibility that the particular Church might become so corrupt and out of accord with the whole Catholic Church that the individual would be forced to leave it. If, for instance, there was a strong anti-Catholic pronouncement on the sacraments, Anglo-Catholics would be in serious difficulty:

> "... this may involve them personally in a practical question of serious moment. Should the Church of England formally contradict any formal teaching of the whole Church, it is hard to see how they could remain in communion with the Bishops of the Church of England."[3]

Weston also deplored the spirit of disobedience, but he too held reservations: "And no man may safely reject the Bishop's witness, unless the Bishop be false to the

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1. Ibid.
2. Anglo-Catholic Faith, p.115.
3. Ibid., p.113.

testimony of the Universal Episcopate; in which case we appeal from one of a body to the whole body, on earth and beyond the veil."[1]

Of course, there were those who believed that the Liberal Catholics themselves were rejecting authority. One such was Athelstan Riley. Writing to F. C. Lee in 1884 he said:

> "The danger of the Catholic Movement in the Church of England is that it may degenerate into mere Sacramentalism and lose the foundation of Catholicism, respect for Authority. I am sure that this cannot be too often insisted upon. Liberalism and Catholicism are as distinct as ice from fire, and a Liberal-Catholic is simply a Latitudinarian with certain sacramental opinions."[2]

There were others who had a nostalgic, if inaccurate, recollection of the Movement in its early days. They believed that it was possible to reestablish the Movement on those earlier and solider foundations. Thus Earl Nelson advocated a rule of authority based upon the Prayer Book and the bishop: "A strict obedience to the Book of Common Prayer, and a strict obedience to the Bishop, as our spiritual father and ruler, was the foundation to all our work."[3]

As Anglo-Catholics developed means of getting their way short of actual disobedience, "squeezing the bishops"

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1. Case Against Kikuyu, p.22.
2. Quoted in Brandreth, Dr. Lee, p.142.
3. Home Reunion, p.273.

as E. A. Knox put it, the danger of being confronted with a situation that would make their position in the English Church insecure diminished. Their increasing influence in the Church was primarily due to increasing numbers, organization, and official Anglicanism's fear of secession or internal schism. Though Newman had disliked the idea of forming a "party," the fact remained that the Tractarians had a strong sense of loyalty to the Movement and its leaders. And they placed a great deal of emphasis upon the necessity of agreement in the face of controversy. There is, for example, the case of Pusey, who in at least two critical controversies - those concerning the Martyrs' Memorial and the Jerusalem Bishopric - reversed his position largely because of concern for the solidarity of the Movement. In the sub-Tractarian period Pusey's relationship with the Ritualistic E.C.U. was often governed by similar considerations. The E.C.U. itself represented the recognition of the necessity for organized action, though its founders refused to regard it as a party organization. The Church Association, which was founded in opposition to the E.C.U., was too negative in purpose to constitute an effective counter-organization. For Anglo-Catholics the sub-Tractarian period was one of extensive organization - they formed associations and religious communities devoted to a wide variety of interests. The effect of this organization was to make the English

Church as a whole keenly aware of their presence and growing strength. As that strength increased, the English episcopate became increasingly wary of offending the Anglo-Catholics to the point of precipitating secession or undue controversy. And the Anglo-Catholics were quick to seize this advantage. As early as 1846 we find Hook referring to Pusey's use of threatened secession:

> "You say that if you cannot carry all your points against the Bishop many will leave the Church of England. This is a thing to be desired... Whether you ought to go, I cannot take upon myself to say..."[1]

When Pusey threatened to secede, however, he usually contemplated secession to, say, the Episcopal Church in Scotland, not Rome. As the Movement gained wider support this threat was naturally more effective. Bell refers to its use by the locally popular Fr Dolling of Portsmouth in 1895. The Rural Dean (Canon Jacob) thus wrote to the Bishop of Winchester (Davidson):

> "... Dolling has hitherto got his way by threatening resignation. He tried it on the Bishop of London but did not succeed there and so left London - Bishop Billing told me this. He refused any conditions from Bishop Harold Browne and that dear good Bishop, not liking to offend Fearon, let him go on unlicensed and had nothing more to do with him. He refused to conform to Bishop Thorold and said he was willing to resign. I have told you the line the Bishop took. This seemed to me a curious idea of episcopal responsibility ..."[2]

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1. Quoted from a letter to Pusey, in Liddon, Life, Vol. III, p.126.
2. Randall Davidson, Vol. I, p.268.

And when Dolling was asked to an interview with Bishop Davidson concerning the third altar controversy, he arrived with a sheaf of telegrams already written announcing his resignation to all those concerned. When he was Archbishop, Davidson was more sensitive to this threat of resignation and secession than some of the party's opponents felt he ought to have been. One of them, H. H. Henson, discussed this question in some detail in his memoirs. He recalled the use Pusey and Liddon had made of the threat of resignation in the controversy concerning the proposals to remove the "Damnatory Clauses" from the Athanasian Creed, then considered the use made of it in his own time. He claims that Gore had used it at Lambeth 1908 to sway the bishops "farther towards the Catholic standpoint than they had appeared likely to go,"[1] and Bishop Weston of Zanzibar did the same at Lambeth 1920.[2] He quotes Archbishop Davidson as having said, "I would not be the Archbishop in

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1. Retrospect of an Unimportant Life, Vol. II, p.5. Though it is possible that Gore did threaten resignation in the Reunion Committee session, there is little evidence that the significance of this action was as great as Henson makes out.
2. The importance of such a threat by Weston - who was not entirely within the good graces of Gore, who felt that he was making too much over nothing in the Kikuyu controversy - at Lambeth 1920 could not have been great, if, in fact, there was such a threat. If there was any dissatisfaction with the "mind of the Conference" at that time, it came from a few isolated "extreme" men on both sides. There is no evidence that a minority imposed its will upon the majority. For personal reasons Henson would like to think that this was the case.

whose time the High Church party was driven out of the Church of England,"[1] and concludes:

> "It does not appear to me doubtful that the threat of resignation uttered by individual Anglo-Catholics has on several important occasions been sufficient to affect unfortunately the policy and procedure of the Anglican hierarchy."[2]

However much Henson may have over-emphasized particular instances, his general conclusions are valid and can be supported from other sources. Davidson himself thus summarized the Anglo-Catholic attitude at the Conference of 1920:

> "If you yield one jot to these would-be reformers who are trying to validate non-Episcopal Eucharists and non-Episcopal Orders, we must reconsider our position in the Church of England, and we warn you also to beware how you move an inch towards releasing the obligation of a plain interpretation of the Creeds... Beware what you do, for we do not mean to keep silent if you thus offend."[3]

It is difficult to determine to what extent this threat was real, but one fact is clear - no one was willing to take the chance.[4]

In summary, then, these are the factors which accounted for the Anglo-Catholic tendency to disobey the very bishops whose office they so exalted:

(1) The failure of the English episcopate to speak

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1. Ibid., p.4.
2. Ibid.
3. Randall Davidson, Vol. II, p.1008.
4. Cf., Appendix C, p.557ff.

with one voice during the early years of the Movement.

(2) In the context of the Anglo-Catholic system the bishop is primarily the commissioned agent through whom sacramental validity is secured, and all other functions are secondary. Most Anglo-Catholics had a clear conception of what the ideal Father-in-God should be, but the bishop's sacramental function did not depend upon his conformity to that ideal.

(3) In the Anglo-Catholic view most of the controversies with the bishops involved sacramental doctrine, and an individual bishop had no doctrinal authority save in so far as he concurred with the judgments of the whole Catholic Church. Disobedience on doctrinal matters was therefore justifiable.

(4) By exploiting the political advantage always possessed by a group whose affiliations are valued but uncertain, the Anglo-Catholics were able to avoid facing the issue by gaining the right to practice their Catholicism within the English Church. As many commentators have pointed out, they secured this position only by accepting a more limited role within the Church than had been envisioned by the Tractarians. Faber describes this difference between the Movement in its earlier and later stages in the following way:

> "While Newman was at its heart, it was (as Mark Pattison said) a whirlpool, sucking into it

> - or else violently repelling - all the talent of the day. With Newman gone it became a fixed system, a mere party in the Church, alive certainly, and even victorious after a time, within the limited sphere of Anglican politics. But the sphere of possible victory contracted year by year, until Keble's assurance that victory would be 'complete, universal, eternal' [from the Assize Sermon of 1833, 'National Apostasy'] may be said to have become a classical example of futile prophesy."[1]

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1. Oxford Apostles, p.318.

Appendix C: The Lambeth Conferences (1867-1920) and Non-Episcopal Churches

The Lambeth Conferences have always taken a marked interest in the question of Christian reunion. By the early twentieth century, in fact, these unofficial gatherings of bishops had become the authority on the subject in the Anglican communion. It is nevertheless extremely difficult to incorporate material from these conferences into this Thesis. Until the turn of the century it would be difficult to clearly identify any of the bishops with the Anglo-Catholic Movement (with one or two notable exceptions), and, even more important, the private character of the Conferences themselves must be respected. Only the proceedings of the first Conference, 1867, have ever been published, and in that case it was only due to a misunderstanding on the part of some of the bishops attending the meetings.[1] While the published

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1. The Bishop of Vermont's biographer included a long chapter on the proceedings - largely based upon personal recollection, and therefore not accurate, - as did Bishop Ewing's. Due to the inaccurate and, in the latter case, unfavorable character of these reports certain misunderstandings were raised in the public mind which the Anglican authorities felt could only be righted by publishing a full account of what took place. To do this they commissioned one William Benham of the Guardian newspaper to consult the Conference papers and publish an official account. This report appeared in the Guardian in June, 1878, just prior to the second Conference. All attending bishops were given a copy of this article by the newspaper's editor. All references to this report on the following pages will be to

Conference reports are valuable as expressions of the bishops' positive agreement, they do not reveal the personal attitudes, disagreements, majorities, etc., which are important to the scholar. Despite these limitations a study of the Lambeth Conferences still provides a valuable index to the thought of the whole Anglican communion which is not available elsewhere.

The attitude of the Conferences towards other episcopal churches can be determined without difficulty from the published reports. There was seldom extensive debate on the Resolutions bearing upon the subject of relationships with these bodies. Even in relation to the Old Catholics

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this specially prepared edition. The meetings were reported in full except in cases where bishops who had participated were still living - in such cases the speeches were simply summarized. At the Conference of 1878 the question of publication was discussed and the following Resolution carried: "That the Shorthand workers' Reports of the proceedings shall not at any time be published." From the brief Daily Minutes (unofficial) of the Bishop of Gloucester, July 3rd. At the same Conference it was decided that the committee reports should be published. In the official Minutes the Archbishop of Canterbury (Tait) is reported to have said that the Conference reports would "be handed to us and placed in a certain chest which exists in this library." Lambeth Conference 1878, vol. i, p.18. He went on to suggest that "they may possibly become public in the next ten or twenty years," (Ibid., p.19) but this was said before the above Resolution was carried. The official Minutes have the following note attached to the inside front cover of the first volume: "These records are open for consultation to anyone properly recommended, under the usual conditions. But no portions of them is at present to be published. See p. 18, vol. i. By order of the Archbishop. 12 Nov. 1884. (signed) R. T. Davidson [Secretary]."

and Scandinavian churches the progress of the Conferences was cautious and thorough, and little occasion was offered for controversy. But these efforts at rapprochement were in harmony with the traditional emphases of Anglicanism. Therefore the primary contribution of the Conferences was in promoting interest and encouraging official discussion, rather than in wrestling with a problem which required creative thought. Such was not the case where non-episcopal churches were concerned. While traditional Anglicanism had tended to suspend judgment on Continental Protestant bodies - even, in some cases, accepting their orders and sacraments, - it had always taken an unyielding position against non-Anglican bodies in England, if not in Britain as a whole. In the second half of the nineteenth century it became impossible to distinguish between these two groups. Not only had the Anglo-Catholics insisted on a more consistent position theoretically, but they had pointed out that in a world in which travel and communication between countries was becoming common, the recognition of Continental churches that were in communion with British Nonconformity compromised the Church position at home. The emergence of international denominational fellowships [1]

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1. Brandreth lists six such organizations in our period: Lambeth Conferences, 1867; Alliance of Reformed Churches throughout the World Holding the Presbyterian System, 1875; Methodist Ecumenical Conferences, 1881; Union of Utrecht, 1889; International Congregational Council, 1891; Baptist

and the Evangelical Alliance made the traditional attitude of suspended judgment increasingly difficult. It also must be borne in mind that many members of the Lambeth Conferences represented churches which were not established, and therefore needed a definite policy with respect to relations with the non-episcopal churches around them. As the Conferences gradually worked out a semi-official policy on reunion a new factor was added which was even more significant in accounting for what appears to some non-Anglican observers to be a narrowing of the former Anglican attitude. This new fact was the emergence and gradual acceptance by the Conferences of the idea of organic reunion. Up until the last half of the nineteenth century reunion or unity simply meant mutual recognition and intercommunion. Among non-Roman churchmen and reunionists, the idea of national churches seemed quite sufficient as expressions of visible unity. Mutual recognition might involve certain concessions to another point of view, another form of order, but it in no way involved the alteration of one's own forms - at least to no significant degree. But as soon as Anglican ecumenists began to aspire after a structural unity - which must, in the end, be implied in the idea of corporate or organic reunion, - it became obvious that

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World Alliance, 1905. Rouse and Neill, History, pp.263-268.

changes would have to be made. In fact the emphasis came to be placed upon the coming reunited Church which would incorporate the truths of the uniting churches, but would not be identical with any one of them. It therefore became imperative that the Anglican Church should study its own position and decide what, in its present forms, was essential to any future corporate unity in which it might join, or at least decide the minimum conditions under which such a project might be discussed. It became obvious that the primary issue was episcopal order. Opinion was divided on this question. The two extremes both represented departures from the traditional Anglican attitude - but in the circumstances which have been described above, any solution was bound to be a departure. On the one hand there were certain Evangelicals and Liberals who felt that non-episcopal and particularly presbyterian orders should be recognized as valid. It should be noted here that the Lambeth discussions of this subject almost always referred to presbyterian orders, even when the Resolution under consideration was more general in its reference. On the other hand the High Churchmen and Anglo-Catholics wanted an unqualified repudiation of such orders. Outside the Conferences both sides have tended to attribute the more central position adopted by the bishops either to episcopal caution or to the unwarranted influence of a minority on the other side. These charges are not substantiated in

the Conference records, however. Three Conferences in particular are important in this respect: 1888, 1908, and 1920. In relation to the first two of these, those who favored recognition have suggested that presbyterian orders were almost recognized. The implication is that it was a close thing. Bishop H. H. Henson suggested, for instance, that at the 1908 Conference it was only the personal intervention of Bishop Gore in the eleventh hour that prevented that body from recognizing presbyterian orders.[1] However much such suggestions might appeal to a non-Anglican, the Conferences themselves do not support them. There is no evidence of significant dissention from the position ultimately adopted by the Conference as a whole.

The Conference of 1867 met under a cloud of suspicion. Though the idea of such a gathering had originated outside any particular controversial context,[2] the first

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1. Retrospect of an Unimportant Life, Vol. I, p.167.
2. Benham says that the first suggestion for some form of pan-Anglican cooperation came from Archbishop Sumner, who proposed that American bishops be invited to join in the commemoration of the S.P.G.'s third jubilee in March, 1851. The Guardian of August 6, 1851, published a letter from the Bishop of Vermont which called for the strengthening of intercommunion between the American and English churches. He suggested meeting together in "the good old fashion of synodical action." Guardian report, p.2. Vermont's suggestion had a definite anti-Roman purpose: "And would not such an assemblage exhibit the most solemn and (under God) the most influential aspect of strength and unity in maintaining the true Gospel of the Apostles' planting against the bold and false assumption of Rome?" Ibid. At the consecration of Dr. Potter as Bishop of New York, Bishop Fulford, Metropolitan of Montreal, made a similar suggestion - this time

Conference was connected with the Colenso case in the public mind. That case had the effect of disestablishing a number of the "Colonial" churches and thus destroying the basis of previous relationships. And there had already been a considerable degree of estrangement between the Mother church and her American daughter. While this concern for the unity of the world-wide Anglican communion was the primary reason for calling the Conference, there was nevertheless an underlying doctrinal motive on the part of a number of the attending bishops. Many believed that the Church as a whole should pronounce with Archbishop Gray of Capetown against the "heresies" implicit in Bishop Colenso's acceptance of certain tenets of Biblical criticism. Though the Archbishop of Canterbury made it clear that the Conference would not discuss doctrinal questions, and that it would have no official status, a large number of those who accepted the invitation, as of those who did not, continued to believe that this was the purpose of the meeting.[1] On September 20, 1865, the Provincial Synod of

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with the purpose of repudiating the dogma of the immaculate conception. Bengt Sundkler thus describes Fulford's motives: "The initiative that led to them [the Conferences] was taken by a bishop in the 'colonies,' Bishop Fulford of Montreal, a firm Evangelical. He had in mind a re-alignment of Protestant forces over against a Roman Church which was at that time proclaiming the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception." Church of South India, p.23.

1. Benham summarized the apprehension concerning the conference which was evident in some quarters in the following way: "That meeting caused much excitement among Churchmen.

the Canadian Church resolved, unanimously, to petition the Archbishop of Canterbury to call a conference, "by which the members of our Anglican Communion in all quarters of the world should have a share in deliberations for her welfare, and be permitted to have a representation in one General Council of her members gathered from every land."[1] In

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It was the first meeting of the kind, an event altogether without precedent in the anals of the Reformed Church. And the extravagent expectations which were formed of it somewhat injured it in public estimation. Some of its enthusiastic promoters, calling it a Synod, pronounced that it would be a death-blow to the Council of Trent, by establishing a great Protestant Patriarchate. Other persons, like the late Bishop of Peterborough, dreading the possibility that injudicious attempts after this would be made, stood aloof and refused to recognise it at all. One prelate, Bishop Thirwall, published a letter to the Primate expressing some apprehensions of the sort, but finally came to the resolve of attending." Guardian report, p.1. While some thought that it would establish a great Protestant Patriarchate, others looked upon it as primarily anti-Protestant. This was the attitude of Bishop Ewing who said, after the Conference, that, "It was a conspiracy against Protestantism [by which he meant the liberty of private judgment and free inquiry] in the interests of sacerdotal dictation." A. J. Ross, Memoir of Alexander Ewing (London: 1877), p.483. Dean A. P. Stanley of Westminster refused the Conference permission to hold a special service in the Abbey for similar reasons. When asked by the Archbishop he refused on the grounds that the aims of the group were not clear and the whole Anglican Church was not represented. The Abbey was not available for the special use of party groups. The Conference considered applying to St. Paul's but, suspecting that they would receive similar treatment from that quarter, they decided to accept the invitation of the Lambeth parish church. Guardian report, pp.6-7, and Ross, Op. cit., pp.473-475. Certain members of the Conference did attempt to secure a censure of Colenso but, failing that, were content to circulate a declaration supporting Gray after the Conference had closed. Fifty-six signatures were secured.
1. Quoted in C. B. Mortlock, The People's Book of the Oxford Movement, p.102.

1866 a meeting of Colonial bishops in London called for a conference as well, and some American bishops who were present urged that they should be included. In the spring of that year the Convocation of Canterbury appointed a committee to consider the subject, and a year later it was debated. At that time Archbishop Longley quieted the suspicions of some by assuring them that at such a conference "no declaration of faith shall be made, and no new decision come to which shall effect generally the interests of the Church, but that we shall meet together for brotherly counsel and encouragement."[1] Accordingly, in February, 1867, he sent invitations to 144 bishops, 76 of whom accepted.[2] The Conference met from September 24th-27th.[3] Eight committees were appointed, but none of them dealt specifically with the question of reunion. Nevertheless the first Resolution of the Conference incorporated the following statements:

> "... secondly, we desire to express the deep sorrow with which we view the divided condition of the flock of Christ throughout the world, ardently longing for the fulfilment of the prayer of our Lord: 'That all may be one, as Thou, Father, art

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1. Ibid., p.102.
2. The composition of the Conference was as follows: England and Wales, 18; Ireland, 5; Scotland, 6; Colonial and Missionary, 28; United States, 19. Among those who declined were the Archbishop of York, and the Bishops of Durham, Carlisle, Ripon, Peterborough, and Manchester.
3. The committee reports were heard on December 10th by those bishops remaining in Britain at that time. There were less than twelve on hand.

> in me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in us, that the world may believe that Thou hast sent me'; and, lastly we do here solemnly record our conviction that unity will be most effectively promoted, by maintaining the faith in its purity and integrity, as taught in the Holy Scriptures, held by the primitive Church, summed up in the Creeds, and affirmed by the undisputed General Councils, and by drawing each of us closer to our common Lord, by giving ourselves to much prayer and intercession, and by the cultivation of a spirit of charity, and a love of the Lord's appearing."[1]

Though the episcopal constitution of the Church is not here mentioned it may be assumed. As yet there was no strong movement towards what came to be called home reunion. At one point in the discussion Bishop Selwyn had asked the Conference whether or not he could recognize the validity of the Wesleyan sacraments [2] but he received no answer.

The second Conference, in 1878, was again called in response to a resolution of the Canadian Church. No decision as to future conferences had been reached in 1867, and the present organization was largely the work of the second Conference. It was at this time that the practice of holding two sessions in July was initiated in order that the work of the committees might be discussed in the Conference itself. Response to this Conference was much better

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1. The Six Lambeth Conferences, 1867-1920, p.9.
2. "Am I authorised by this conference, representing the whole Church, to admit the sacraments are duly administered by ministers of the Wesleyan persuasion?" Guardian report, p.13.

- 173 were invited and 100 accepted.[1] This assembly too was primarily interested in the internal unity of the Anglican communion, but the interest in reunion was nevertheless even stronger than at the previous Conference. Like the first, it revealed a strong Anglican apologetic, which was to be expected in a conference which was principally concerned with mending its own fences. General interest in reunion was found in isolated addresses and in the reports of the committees dealing with Anglican unity and special questions submitted by the bishops.

The third Conference, in 1888, was the first to include the question of the relationship between Anglican and other churches on the agenda. 211 bishops had been invited to this Conference, and 145 accepted.[2] On the second day, July 4th, it was decided to appoint four separate committees to deal with the various aspects of this subject. The fourth committee, appointed to consider the possibility of rapprochement among English-speaking Christian churches, is the one that concerns us here.

G. K. A. Bell says that the question of recognition of presbyterian orders created one of two crises at the

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1. The composition was as follows: England and Wales, 35; Ireland, 9; Scotland, 7; Colonial and Missionary, 30; United States, 19.
2. The composition was as follows: England and Wales, 46; Ireland, 11; Scotland, 6; United States, 29; Colonial and Missionary, 53.

Conference.[1] Charles Gore also made reference to "A proposal (in effect) to recognize Nonconformist orders as 'valid' in some sense, though irregular."[2] Another point on which there has been considerable disagreement is the precise meaning of Resolution 11, better known as the Lambeth Quadrilateral. Some have said that the Quadrilateral represented the extent of Anglican conditions for actual reunion. This is sometimes called the Terminus ad Quem position. Others insist that it simply represents conditions which must be accepted before there can be a conference on reunion. The Anglo-Catholics and High Churchmen generally accept this Terminus a Quo interpretation. Both these points are extremely important and should be cleared up.

There can be no question as to the "mind of the Conference" on the latter: the Quadrilateral was quite definitely understood in the Terminus a Quo sense. Some bishops, in fact, anticipated the difficulty of a Terminus ad Quem interpretation, though the Conference as a whole felt that it was quite clearly avoided by the reference to its origination in the Chicago Resolution of the American Church, and by Resolution 12, which put the whole question in the context of an actual conference on

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1. Randall Davidson, Vol. I, p.120. The other crisis developed in the discussion of current Biblical and doctrinal questions.
2. Roman Catholic Claims, note on p.19.

reunion. The only advocates of the Terminus ad Quem position, then, were the Resolution's opponents, some of whom evidently misunderstood the real meaning when it was first presented.

As to the other problem - that concerning the recognition of presbyterian orders (Gore's reference to Nonconformist orders generally is unwarranted) - I do not believe that it can be said that recognition was ever suggested, certainly not an unqualified general recognition, applicable whether or not reunion discussions took place. There was suggestion of a certain relaxation of the fourth clause of the Quadrilateral in order that non-episcopal churches that have "a regularly Constituted Ministry" might join in a conference on reunion without first adopting episcopacy. There was no suggestion made, or, I am sure, intended, that the end product of such a conference would be anything other than episcopally constituted.

In these discussions one is impressed with two recurrent motives. The first was the feeling that nothing must be done that would jeapordize reunion in the direction of other episcopal and Catholic bodies, and the second was the less commendable belief that the Anglican communion was about to be the object of a large secession from non-episcopal bodies, and that any "softening" of the position on episcopal order would remove the very reason for it. This was a motive that acted upon the bishops in the

following two conferences but which had almost entirely disappeared by 1920.

There was little advance in the Conference of 1897. Since time did not permit me to consult the papers of that assembly, we will pass it over without comment. 240 bishops were invited, and 194 of these attended.[1]

The Conference of 1908 was larger still, with 242 bishops attending.[2] The only significant discussion of the Resolutions proposed by the committee on Reunion and Intercommunion once again centered around the problem of non-episcopal ministries - as implied in Resolution 75. This Resolution appears in the published Report as follows:

> "The Conference receives with thankfulness and hope the Report of its Committee on Reunion and Intercommunion, and is of opinion that, in the welcome event of any project of reunion between any Church of the Anglican Communion and any Presbyterian or other non-episcopal Church, which, while preserving the Faith in its integrity and purity, has also exhibited care as to the form and intention of ordination to the ministry, reaching the stage of responsible official negotiation, it might be possible to make an approach to reunion on the basis of consecrations to the episcopate on lines suggested by such precedents as those of 1610 [Per saltum]. Further, in the opinion of the Conference, it might be possible to authorise arrangements (for the period of transition towards full union on the basis of episcopal ordination) which would respect the convictions of those who had not received

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1. The composition was as follows: England and Wales, 58; Ireland, 10; Scotland, 7; United States, 49; Colonial and Missionary, 70.
2. The composition was as follows: England and Wales, 79; Ireland, 12; Scotland, 7; United States, 55; Colonial and Missionary, 89.

> episcopal Orders, without involving any surrender on our part of the principle of Church Order laid down in the Preface to the Ordinal attached to the Book of Common Prayer."

It is obvious that this Resolution does, with less ambiguity, what some had tried to do in 1888. The reference to precedent (though different), the reunion conference context, and the uncompromising insistence upon episcopal order in the future, are all the same. The primary difference is that while some in 1888 proposed to recognize presbyterian or similar ministries, the 1908 Resolution proposed, rather, to recognize presbyterian consciences.

The primary purpose of this Resolution was to provide a principle whereby the transition from presbyterian to episcopal order in the reunited Church of the future might be accomplished without passing judgment upon the former, or causing undue damage through sudden changes. In earlier stages of the discussion specific transitional steps had been looked at which are a very interesting example of the Conference's interest in finding a way through the existing impasse - though, in my opinion, they were inadequate and not likely to have been accepted by the presbyterians. A sub-committee had been appointed to consider special questions bearing upon this Resolution. The first question to which it addressed itself concerned possible procedures of reunion with bodies that have a ministry involving the transmission of holy orders, though they have not retained the historic episcopate. Though the primary interest here

was in the presbyterians, the Reply was also intended to cover the case of episcopal churches which had not retained a valid succession. It suggested the following steps:

1. Any such reunion would presuppose agreement in doctrine and practice "which would violate no essential principle" of the Anglican Communion. The case of episcopal confirmation and the deaconate as an order of the ministry were cited as examples.
2. After such agreement had been reached, the ministers and laity of both bodies would elect ministers of the other [i.e., non-Anglican] body to the office of bishop in the subsequent union. Members of each body would vote separately. Those elected would then be consecrated per saltum by the bishops of the Anglican Church involved, according to the form for ordaining or consecrating bishops or archbishops in the Prayer Book, provided words were included which "indicated that they were commissioned to preach the Word of God and to minister the Holy Sacraments in the whole Church."[1]
3. The presbyters of the body so united should be ordained sub conditione according to the Prayer Book rite and would be authorized to minister the sacraments in any congregation of either body. If any presbyters were unwilling to submit to such ordination they could continue to minister where they were and could preach elsewhere upon being licensed to do so by the bishop. But these congregations "would in this case not be considered as belonging as yet, quâ congregations, to the united body." Any subsequent appointments to these congregations would be of ministers episcopally ordained.[2]

These suggestions throw some light on the meaning of the

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1. It is clear from this condition and subsequent discussion in the Conference that the per saltum consecration would be regarded as ordination.
2. The second question dealt with in the Reply involved the joining of presbyters and bishops in the act of ordination. The answer gave no real objection to this practice on theological grounds, but suggested that it would be wiser not to depart from the general rule that bishops should be consecrated by bishops only. The third and final question involved the precedents of men having been accepted into the

Resolution.

The Conference of 1920 was without question the most important of the first six Conferences with respect to the ecumenical question. It not only consolidated the advances of the previous Conferences, but strongly committed the Anglican communion (in so far as Lambeth Conferences in themselves can commit the various independent churches that make up that communion) to a positive reunionist program. The last vestiges of the former "let's wait till they come to us" attitude were wiped away, as was what can most expressively be called the Anglican "superiority complex" which had been all too evident at former Conferences. The Great War undoubtedly had a great deal to do with this, but the personal influence of several outstanding bishops cannot be ignored.[1]

Church of England with presbyterian ordinations only. The Reply did not think that these precedents were applicable to the present situation. In the first place, they were largely concerned with the representatives of national churches which "under the exigence of necessity" (Hooker's phrase) had abandoned the historic ministry in order to preserve purity of faith and life. Beyond this they were acts of "individual dispensation by Archbishops or Bishops, or judgments of learned men," which did not in any way bind the Church as a whole. Then they went on to point out that the corporate action of the Church has tended in the other direction. They consider some of these precedents then conclude that, "The proposal for conditional re-ordination made in answer to I.3. seems to go as far as any precedents justify."

1. Bell tells us that the Encyclical Letter issued by the Conference was "largely the work of Bishop Palmer." Randall Davidson, Vol. II, p.1015. It may be assumed that he was also instrumental in the composition of the Appeal. A Liberal Catholic of the Lux Mundi tradition, Palmer was an

To this Conference 368 bishops were invited, and while 280 or 290 accepted, only 252 were able to attend.[1] The Committee on Reunion was the largest that had ever been appointed by a Lambeth Conference (having some 60 members with the Archbishop of York as its chairman), and its subject was considered the most important before the Conference. But this importance must be attributed to anxiety as well as to positive conviction. A great deal of ecumenical activity which had taken place since the last Conference greatly disturbed large portions of the Church. The Kikuyu controversy had brought the matter to a head, and some definite action had to be taken. A policy of drift would no longer suffice. This anxiety was quite evident in the attitude of the Conference's President, Archbishop Davidson. Henson quotes him as having said: "I would not be the Archbishop in whose time the High Church party was driven out of the Church of England."[2] His fears were not without substance, for Gore had written to him before the Conference expressing the hope that "Divine Providence intends the Church of England to exist

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advocate of the comprehensive theory of reunion, which he was instrumental in impressing upon the scheme for reunion in South India. Sundkler goes so far as to say that "This was without any question the greatest theological mind applied to the South India union problem," (Church of South India, p.117) and that he was, in fact, "the main architect of the Church of South India." Ibid., p.115.

1. Its composition was as follows: England and Wales, 80; Ireland, 10; Scotland, 7; Colonial and Missionary, 103; United States, 52.

2. Retrospect of an Unimportant Life, Vol. II, p.4.

over the next year or two without a schism that would separate off the Catholic section, but I dread the Lambeth Conference and its consequences."[1] After the Conference the Archbishop wrote the following personal memorandum: "We had to deal for the first time, as frequently pointed out in conversation, with the probability that we should find a minority in the Conference who would not be content to be an acquiescent minority, but might march out denouncing us, or raise cohorts outside."[2] To Davidson and others who had wished to go farther towards accommodating non-episcopalians than the Conference had, its results were disappointing and their attitude towards its positive values was therefore pessimistic. Davidson seemed to consider the Conference's resolutions as stop-gap measures at best:

> "This [the suggestion that no reordination would be necessary] I am quite sure we cannot say (apart from the question of whether it is fundamentally sound) without creating at once and irrevokably a deep schism among our own people and giving triumph to the Romans and others who would laugh such a Conference to scorn - also to Easterns. Thus the difficulty really consists in our finding a mode of getting over the intervening period without either evoking defiance from non-Episcopals, or creating among ourselves an incurable schism."[3]

Henson was also greatly disappointed by what he called a

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1. Quoted in Bell, Randall Davidson, Vol. II, p.1004.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p.1015.

"Catholic reaction" at the Conference. He summarized the attitude of that gathering in the following terms:

> "The prevailing spirit of the Conference was neo-Tractarian... The younger and abler men have 'no use for' either Protestantism or Anglicanism. There is a real desire for union with non-episcopalians, but no adequate perception of the difficulty. Episcopacy is exalted beyond what either its history or its actual influence justifies."[1]

There can be no question but that Anglo-Catholics exerted great influence upon the Conference - though most of those who did would more correctly be called Liberal Catholics, not Tractarians, - but to speak of its Resolutions on the subject of reunion as a "Catholic reaction" is not justifiable in that concessions were made towards the recognition of non-episcopalians that no previous Conference had been willing to make. What Henson really meant was that the Conference did not go so far as he had hoped it might. It is difficult to estimate to what extent the fear of "schism" was justified - unless the word is used very loosely. Among Anglo-Catholics one often found an uncertainty as to whether or not some official action would force them to secede to Rome, but only two cases have come to my attention

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1. Retrospect of an Unimportant Life, Vol. II, pp.22-23. It should be noted that the concluding paragraph in the report of the sub-committee on "Relation to and Reunion with Non-Episcopal Churches," in which the difference of opinion among the members of the committee is noted, was written at Henson's request. He had wanted to write a minority report, but the committee felt that this departure from precedent was unwarranted. Cf., Ibid., p.13.

in which a corporate schism was suggested - one being a reference in Froude's Remains to the effect that a continuation of the non-Juring schism would have been of great value, and the other being a proposal made by some Anglo-Catholics who were disenchanted with the Gorham decision that an independent succession be established under the sponsorship of the Russian Church. It would be difficult to imagine Liberal Catholics like Gore, Talbot, Weston, and Palmer taking either course.[1] The most that would have been likely to have happened if non-episcopalian orders had been recognized would have been a number of individual secessions on the scale of 1845 or 1850; but the impact upon the Anglican Church would not have been so great because no leaders of the stature of Newman, or Ward, or Manning would have been involved. There is no question, however, but that there would have been a controversy the like of which the English Church had not seen since the early 1840's - and to a church that was just emerging from over a half century of internal controversy this was not a welcome thought. But this fear did not prompt the bishops to act against their principles. The plain fact is that few members of the Conference agreed with Henson - though

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1. Palmer made the following observation to Sundkler in 1949: "Like Charles Gore, after having heard Jowett, I could not swallow Rome. My mind had been salted with the method of thinking freely, which was that of Jowett, and of Ridding." Quoted in Church of South India, p.114.

he attempted to make the number appear larger than the Conference records justify. I think that the strong and positive approach of men like Palmer had not been expected before the Conference, and when bishops who had seemed convinced that there could be no satisfactory reconciliation among the various parties discovered that there was a comprehensive position which not only embraced the whole question of reunion in a way that the previous piecemeal approach had not, and which was acceptable to, indeed sponsored by, the Anglo-Catholics, they were taken by surprise. This explains the spontaneous expression of gratitude, almost of overwhelming surprise, in the act of rising to sing the Doxology (after silent prayer) when it was realized that the Appeal had been adopted by a vast majority of the Conference.

Though the Appeal was the heart of the Conference's Resolutions on the subject of reunion with non-episcopal churches - even though in fact it was not carried as a Resolution and was technically addressed to <u>all</u> Christian people, - and once it had been accepted the other seven Resolutions were carried with little discussion, it should be placed in the context of what followed. Like the proposals from 1888 onwards, the Appeal was designed to apply to a situation in which Christian churches were seriously attempting to find a way to reunion. This is especially evident in the third Resolution on the subject

(Resolution 12 in the published Report). Section A of that Resolution suggests that the occasional interchange of pulpits and intercommunion would be justified among those who "are working towards an idea of union such as is described in our Appeal." That this implies no general recognition is quite clear in Section B where the Conference declares that "It cannot approve of general schemes of intercommunion or exchange of pulpits." This Resolution nevertheless makes concessions that the Committee of 1908 had been unwilling to make. The first Resolution (No. 10 in the published Report) is also of interest in that it recommends that Anglican authorities should themselves initiate discussions, rather than waiting for others to come to them.

For convenience the Appeal can be divided into five sections: 1. the doctrinal basis (including the second paragraph of the introduction and paragraph I), 2. the confession (paragraphs II and III), 3. the ideal (paragraphs IV, V, VI, and VII), 4. the method of implimentation (paragraph VIII), and 5. the appeal (paragraph IX and the conclusion). Paragraphs VI and VII are, essentially, a restatement of the Quadrilateral - the latter stating the case for episcopacy. But the controversial sections were the first and the fourth. Certain Anglo-Catholic bishops felt that the definition of the "universal Church of Christ which is His Body," as being composed of "all those who

believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, and have been baptized in the name of the Holy Trinity," was unacceptable, and that it would be unacceptable to a number of those not present at the Conference.[1] But when this sentence was taken together with the distinction drawn between the universal and the Catholic (however difficult semantically) in paragraph I, any significant theological objection from Anglo-Catholic quarters was impossible."[2] Most of the discussion concerning the Appeal centered around paragraph VIII, in which a form of mutual commissioning was suggested as the best means of inaugerating reunion with non-episcopalian churches.

When the question was first raised the paragraph was described as referring to whatever further ordering or commissioning those bodies required. Two questions were immediately raised: did this apply to other episcopal bodies [i.e., the Roman and Eastern churches] as well? and was it not simply a form of "camouflage"? Though no definite decision was reached on the first, it was generally agreed that, all other terms of union being agreeable, it would also apply to other episcopal churches. Some felt

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1. Though these men anticipated more controversy on this point than actually materialized, there was some objection to this sentence from Anglo-Catholic circles. Cf., Stone and Fuller, Who Are Members of the Church? A Statement of Evidence in Criticism of a Sentence in the Appeal to All Christian People made by the Lambeth Conference of 1920, which is Fundamental to all the Propositions of that Appeal.
2. Cf., above, Ch. II, p.194ff.

that the spirit in which the proposal was offered to the non-episcopalians, i.e., that this was not intended to constitute a judgment upon their orders, would be meaningless unless they themselves were willing to undergo a similar commissioning at the hands of those who were not completely satisfied with Anglican orders. In coming to terms with the second question the real intention and importance of the proposal emerged. It was called to the attention of the Conference that however valid Anglican orders might be in the eyes of non-episcopalians the plain fact remained that Anglicans did not at present have the authority to minister in those churches - the commissioning would give them that authority, and this was something very real and important. While some members of the Conference were concerned lest this act of mutual commissioning be understood to imply equality of orders, a number of the leading Anglo-Catholic bishops strongly endorsed the Appeal. In fact one of the interesting things about this Conference was the way in which party associations were frankly and openly admitted. One such bishop, who introduced his remarks with the observation that he spoke from long association "with what in old-fashioned language we used to call the High Church Party in the Church of England,"[1] summarized his attitude towards the Appeal in

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1. The official long-hand Minutes recorded the word "Tractarian" in place of "High Church."

the following terms:

> "... we are conscious that the case of the Anglican Communion is stated with a kind of reserve, with a kind of acknowledgment of fault, with penitence, dropping some of the things and ways of speaking to which we have been attached and which have shown complacency with our own position. There is something of the Cross, of sacrifice in this with which we are asked to agree. I have felt it myself. Now if so, then I hope that it may be an argument drawing us all to feel that it is more likely that we are doing right in making a united response to what we feel to be the claim of the Spirit."

This was not only the spirit of the Anglo-Catholics, some of whom had played such a creative role in the Conference, but of the whole gathering when it supported the Appeal with an overwhelming vote very shortly afterwards.

Though committee reports and resolutions are drawn up in relation to influences and interests that do not appear in official minutes, it is quite clear from what is known about the personnel and the ideas behind those reports that the Anglo-Catholic influence was strong at Lambeth 1920. Though their ecumenical theology had been "watered" with that of Headlam, it was unquestionably there. The passage distinguishing between the Church universal and the Church Catholic could have been written by Gore or Lacey with hardly a word altered. In fact, it probably was written by Palmer. But more than the influence of any one group within the Church, Lambeth 1920 demonstrated the tremendous cumulative force of the traditions that had been created and developed within the Lambeth Conferences themselves

since at least 1888. The idea of concessions within the framework of definite commitment to the cause of Christian reunion, which the Conference of 1888 had borrowed from its American constituent, the conception of organic reunion as comprehensive rather than compromising, the attempt to come to terms with the problems involved in bringing non-episcopal bodies into an episcopal system without violating their consciences by implying that this was submission to the Anglican Church, and, finally, the gradual movement from aloof self-satisfaction to a passionate commitment to "evangelize" on behalf of Christian reunion, were all integral elements within this tradition which, though borrowed from various sources, came to have a character and consistency of their own. There was no longer simply a set of isolated proposals, there was now an ideal by which particular problems could be measured. The Encyclical Letter recognized this new fact in the following terms:

> "Thus our appeal is in idea and in method a new appeal. If it be prospered, it will change the spirit and direction of our efforts. Terms of reunion must no longer be judged by the success with which they meet the claims and preserve the positions of two or more uniting Communions, but their correspondence to the common ideal of the Church as God would have it be."

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